

## THE TIMES Tomorrow

The battle for the women's vote  
David Hewson analyses a crucial aspect of the election campaign  
Can Brighton upset the favourites in the FA Cup Final?  
Stuart Jones on the match of the day  
The Chelsea Flower Show, its history and magical moments  
Plus 10 pages of Saturday leisure  
The man who made Mickey Mouse dance  
Helene Hanff on Leopold Stokowski

## CND plans 'die-in' for close poll

If there is a hung Parliament CND plans a "mass die-in" on the Sunday after polling, and intensive lobbying of the Commons to prevent "pro-nuclear alliances". If the Conservatives win outright, efforts will be concentrated on a big October demonstration. Page 2

## Steel go-ahead

British Steel's three-year, £665m corporate investment plan has been approved. It includes £171m for the modernization of Port Talbot but takes no decision on the fate of the Ravenscraig plant. Page 15

## Stern peace

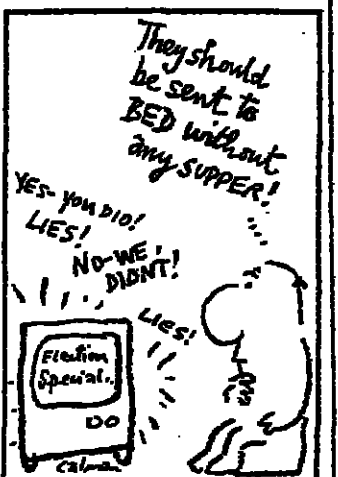
Journalists on *Stern* magazine abandoned their occupation of its offices after Herr Johannes Gross, one of the two editors named last week, had agreed not to take up his appointment. Page 7

## Surgery advance

Surgeons at Papworth Hospital, near Cambridge, working with Mr Terence English, are ready to perform the first combined heart and lung operation in Britain. Page 3

## Output rises

The British economy grew by 2 per cent between the first quarters of 1982 and 1983, in line with government predictions for recovery. Output is the highest for nearly three years. Page 15



## Botha advance

South Africa's controversial Constitution Bill, providing for a tri-cameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians, came a step closer to implementation, despite attacks from both left and right. Page 8

## Cannes awards

The Golden Palm, the top prize of the Cannes film festival, was awarded to the Japanese entry *The Ballad of Narayama*. Monty Python's comedy *The Meaning of Life* won the jury's special grand prix. Page 6

## Jacklin captain

Tony Jacklin celebrated being made captain of Europe's Ryder Cup team by sharing the lead with J Anglada (Spain) and Howard Clark in the Car Care Plan tournament at Sand Moor, near Leeds. Page 19

Leader page, 13  
Letters: On Irish neutrality, from Dr A Roddy; pressure groups, from Mr J Elford and Mrs D Dawson; effects of calling election, from Mr A Forrest and others.  
Leading articles: Lebanon; Social science; Muslim divorce. Features, pages 10-12  
David Wall scrutinizes the party manifestos; how the press is handling the election; youth gets its head in China. Spectrum: Liza Minnelli talks to Duncan Fallowell, Friday Page-Incest, the taboo relationship. Special Report: Eight pages on Saudi Arabia.  
Obituary, page 14  
Mr Jean Rey, Mr Frank Aiken.

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# Healey accuses Thatcher of lying over jobless

Mr Denis Healey, drawing on a government report leaked to the Labour Party, accused the Prime Minister of lying about unemployment.  
The Conservatives revived the idea of £1,500 education vouchers for parents to spend at the school of their choice.  
Mr Frank Chapple, TUC chairman, provoked dismay in Labour's ranks by endorsing the SDP candidate for Islington North.

The gap between Labour and the Conservatives has narrowed from 13 per cent to 10 per cent, according to a new poll.  
The prediction by the Labour party chairman that a general strike might follow a Tory victory was amplified by Mr Michael Foot (page 5).  
Labour plans for EEC withdrawal would cause chaos in the steel, textile and farming industries, Dr Douglas Hurd said (page 5).

By Julian Haviland, Political Editor

Mr Denis Healey, deputy leader of the Labour Party, yesterday accused the Prime Minister and the Government of lying about unemployment, the issue on which his party whistles the campaign to be fought.

Drawing on a confidential government report which has fallen into the Labour Party's hands and using the bluntest language yet heard on the hustings, Mr Healey said the Government was lying on five issues of major importance to every family in the country.

His charges were at once repudiated by Mr Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment, who said Mr Healey was becoming hysterical at the prospect of a Labour catastrophe.

Talk of lies was particularly rich from Mr Healey's, Mr Tebbit said. In the general election of October 1974, Mr Healey had claimed that inflation was at 8.4 per cent when he had Treasury forecasts pointing clearly to the near-30 per cent inflation which followed from his policies within months.

Mr Healey's broadside was fired at dawn from the studios of TV-am, where he said in an interview that the report,

written in 1981 by the Central Policy Review Staff, showed that ministers were lying when they said unemployment would not reach three million: the report warned them that it would.

"They were lying when they said their youth training schemes were not simply a device to cut the registered unemployed by 200,000. This report shows it was."

Foot's image  
Manifesto launched 4  
Tory campaign coach 4.5  
John Pardo 12  
Letters 13  
Frank Johnson 26

"It is quite clear that three years ago she told lies about what she knew," Healey wanted to know what was in up-to-date reports from the CPRS.

Mr Tebbit denied Mr Healey's charges point by point. The report, he said, did not warn that unemployment could reach three million, but said such a figure had been publicly suggested by independent forecasters.

It was not true that the report gave unemployment as a factor in the breakdown of law and order. It had not broken down.

It was not true that the Youth Training Scheme was simply a device to cut the register of unemployed. Labour had themselves tried to launch it and had welcomed it. Nor was it true that it would put people out of work. If it were, it would not have been welcomed by trade union representatives on the Manpower Services Commission.

Mr Tebbit then levelled his own charge, recalling that Mr Healey had said in the same interview that the report,

## Chapple endorses SDP candidate

By Paul Routledge, Labour Editor

## Vouchers scheme is revived

By Anthony Bevins, Political Correspondent

The Conservatives yesterday revived the idea of a scheme to give parents a voucher worth about £1,500, to be spent at the school of their choice.

Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, vigorously endorsed such a system at last year's Conservative Party conference. But an official Conservative manifesto study group last month told party leaders that a majority of the group did not believe the cost of a voucher scheme could be justified "to a highly sceptical public".

The Conservative manifesto, published on Wednesday, made no mention of the project, and that had been seen as the end for the time being of the party's flirtation with the idea.

But yesterday's editions of *Daily News*, an essential background guide for candidates and campaigners, explained the full significance of the manifesto, which said: "Giving parents more power is one of the most effective ways of raising educational standards. We shall continue to seek ways of widening parental choice and influence over their children's schooling."

Yesterday's *Daily News* said: "We intend in the next Parliament to make schools more responsive to parental choice."

One way of achieving this would be by the introduction of education "vouchers" or "credits", whereby every parent with a child of school age would be issued with a voucher of credit equal to the cost of educating the child in a maintained school, which could be used to pay for the child's education at a maintained school of the parents' choice.

Mr Grant, aged 42, was elected Labour MP for Islington, Central, at the June 1970 general election, and became minister at the Employment Department after 1974. Before becoming an MP, he was industrial correspondent of the *Daily Express*. He defected from the Labour Party in October, 1981.

He was "delighted" last night to have the "full-hearted support" of the TUC chairman, who is a personal friend.



Mr Chapple: Defector 'a man of integrity'

Mr Chapple's endorsement has been printed in the SDP candidate's campaign leaflet in Islington, North, where Mr Grant is fighting Mr Jeremy Corbyn, his Labour rival. Mr Corbyn, aged 34, is a full-time official of the National Union of Public Employees.

Mr Richard Hadley, the Labour Party's agent told *The Times* that informed estimates of Labour's majority in the constituency based on 1979 voting patterns and the result of local elections earlier this month suggested that Mr Corbyn would win by 7,000 votes.

They give the Conservatives at least a 15 per cent lead over the Labour Party, with the Alliance trailing well behind. The figures, averaged out, put the Alliance on 15 to 18 per cent, Labour on 32 to 33 per cent and the Conservatives on 47 to 48 per cent.

Laddbrokes has taken £40,000 on the Conservatives to win. Its latest odds are 1/7 Conservatives, 9/2 Labour, 66/1 SDP-Liberal Alliance, 7/2 No overall majority.

Asked for his reaction to the Alliance's poor showing in the opinion polls, Mr Steel said last night that there were still three weeks to the election and a lot could still happen.

"There are still an enormous number of people who are undecided and, even more important, many who declared an opinion in the polls who are not certain, so there is everything still to play for," he



## Off-guard Reagan on the record

Candid camera: "I've been waiting years to do this", President Reagan said at a dinner for White House news photographers, believing, mistakenly, that all the cameras were off duty with their operators and that he was off the record.

In the opinion polls, the belief that the United States economy is finally on the mend has pushed Mr Reagan's standing to its highest level in nearly 18 months. And as his popularity soars so do expectations that he will run again in next year's election. Nicholas Ashford writes from Washington.

According to a poll conducted by the Washington Post-ABC News, more people view the President positively now than in any poll since January 1982.

The poll showed 53 per cent saying they approved of the way Mr Reagan was handling his job as President and 42 per cent expressing disapproval. In January the figures were almost exactly reversed.

The rise in his popularity is clearly tied to the growing perception within the United States that the nation's economy is improving.

However, the poll also shows that Americans remain sharply polarized in their views about Mr Reagan. He is favoured more by men than women, whites than blacks, middle class than working class.

Mr Reagan is not expected to announce a decision about whether he will run again in 1984 until the autumn, but there is a growing body of opinion in Washington that expects him to seek a second term.

## Benefits of Lebanon pact

## Israel expects US to end jet freeze

From Christopher Walker, Jerusalem

Extra benefits, including a lifting of the US freeze on delivery of 75 sophisticated F16 military aircraft, are expected by Israel as a consequence of signing this week of the troop withdrawal pact with Lebanon and a special secret memorandum with America which accompanied it.

A visit to the White House by Mr Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, is likely to be agreed in the next fortnight. During the visit a revival of the strategic understanding between the United States and Israel is expected to feature prominently in any talks. A thaw in Israel's relations with Egypt is also being predicted in Jerusalem.

The secret US-Israeli document, on which neither Government will comment officially at Lebanon's insistence, makes clear that Israel retains the right of hot pursuit across its northern border into Lebanon if the complex security arrangements on troop withdrawal break down and Israel is again attacked by "terrorists" operating from Lebanon.

The special memorandum also spells out in specific terms that the Israeli withdrawal is contingent on a withdrawal of Syrian and Palestinian guerrilla forces still based in Lebanon. No direct mention of Syria appears in the published Lebanon-Israel agreement or the annexes which accompanied it.

The special memorandum was signed in Jerusalem by Mr Yitzhak Shamir, the Foreign

## American threat to Belfast contract

By Nicholas Ashford and Edward Townsend

Short Brothers, the state-owned Belfast aircraft and missile manufacturer, is in danger of losing a \$75m (£47m) export contract in the United States because of alleged discrimination in its hiring practices.

A group of American congressmen are trying to block the deal on the ground that Short's is deliberately excluding Catholics from its 6,000-strong work force. At stake in the deal are 18 Shermans, the military version of the Short's 330 regional airliner, for delivery to the United States Air Force next year. Orders for a further 48 aircraft could follow in 1985-1986.

In a letter to the Pentagon, Senator Alfonso D'Amato, a Democrat from New York, has claimed that the purchase of the aircraft "could be interpreted as US support for the flagrant discriminatory practices of Short Brothers". He urged the Pentagon to seek alternative contractors.

The British Government has responded by sending Sir Oliver Wright, the British Ambassador in Washington, into the fray. He is in the process of writing letters to 200 key American senators and members of the House of Representatives in which he argues that the allegations are totally unfounded.

The campaign to block the sale of the aircraft in the United States is led by the Irish National Caucus, a group headed by Mr Mario Biaggi, a New York Democratic member of the House of Representatives which is outspokenly critical of British policy in Northern Ireland.

The caucus has appealed to sympathetic Irish Americans to send \$50 to help its lobbying campaign against Short's, whose work force it claims, includes less than 8 per cent Catholics against a Belfast Catholic population of almost 40 per cent.

In his letter, Sir Oliver points out that all employers in Northern Ireland must conform with the Fair Employment Act, which makes religious and political discrimination in employment illegal.

He also argues that it is the policy of Short Brothers to "appoint persons to positions solely on the basis of merit and capability without regard to religious belief or political opinion".

Sir Oliver's letter is accompanied by a fact sheet prepared by the company.

British sources in Washington said that they feared that the threatened blacklisting of Short Brothers would not only set an unfortunate precedent but would have a serious effect on the already high level of unemployment in Northern Ireland.

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## Lost Seveso waste located in France

From Diana Geddes in Paris

The 41 barrels of toxic dioxin-contaminated waste from the devastated chemical factory at Seveso, near Milan, which "disappeared" last September after being transported from Italy to Saint-Quentin in Northern France, have been found in a warehouse near Saint-Quentin.

The revelation last March of the existence of the dioxin waste by Greenpeace, the environmentalist lobby, led to a hunt throughout Europe and to much bitter recriminations between governments, each accusing the other of not doing enough to find the waste. It was at various times thought to be in West Germany, East Germany, France and even possibly Britain.

Hoffman-La Roche, the Swiss chemicals company which owned the Seveso factory that exploded in 1976, insisted that it did not know of the whereabouts of the waste. It said the disposal was consigned to the German company Mannesmann, and that it was "under 10 to 15 feet of clay, in a controlled dump, somewhere in Europe".

Mannesmann, in its turn, also denied all knowledge of where the waste had gone, saying that it had subcontracted

the disposal of waste to Speldec, a French company, and that it was Speldec which was responsible for the storage of the barrels in Saint-Quentin until they disappeared.

The one man who knew of the waste's whereabouts was M. Bernard Paringaux, head of Speldec, who was promptly imprisoned and charged with having failed to declare the characteristics and destination of imported goods.

Until now he has refused to reveal his secret, insisting that it was a matter of confidence between himself and his clients. Seven weeks in prison has evidently helped change his mind. The examining magistrate on M. Paringaux's case yesterday went on his instructions to a disused abattoir in Angoulême-Le-Sart, a village of 300 inhabitants near Saint-Quentin, where he found the 41 barrels.

The discovery, which was announced last night by M. Alain le Gouic, the public prosecutor in Saint-Quentin, took the villagers by surprise.

The French Government immediately made contact with members of the Hoffman-La Roche management to decide what steps it should now take.

## Pope-Walesa meeting

A meeting between the Pope and Mr Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, during the Papal visit to Poland next month is now a possibility. Cardinal Josef Glemp, the Polish Primate, indicated yesterday, Our Foreign Staff write.

Speaking in Rome before leaving with other Polish bishops following talks with the Pope, Cardinal Glemp said:

"Certainly it will be a complicated matter but it seems to me that it is taking shape."

In an otherwise crowded programme, no official meetings are planned for the last day of the Pope's visit, June 23, when he will be in Cracow. Vatican officials have said the day has been set aside for private meetings.

Full story, page 6



# CND plans a 'mass die-in' to greet a hung Parliament

More than 130,000 pigs from 144 herds have been destroyed in the past nine weeks as part of the government campaign to eradicate Aujeszky's disease which effects piglets and causes pregnant sows to abort.

From next Monday the early *Daybreak* programme will be scrapped and the main *Good Morning Britain* show will start at 6.25am, with the same presenters, Lynda Berry and Nick Owen.

## Text of t

## The Hoskyns report to

## Thatcher

(c) The Government would be accepting an extended obligation to provide the (modest) youth benefit

# magistrates by judge

**Lloyds Bank Plc**

2. MORE COMMUNITY  
WORK  
2.1 We all know that there is no prospect of getting unemployment down to acceptable levels within the next few years. Against this background,

2.2 The key to making these operations successful is likely to be the local leadership for individual projects. There are plenty of people asking questions to supply young trainees, gaining valuable manage-

ment experience, but they would receive no benefits at all.

(b) Instead of appearing to outwit the employment of 16-year-olds we should explain the new obligation on a company employing a 16-year-old to ensure that he was employed in a job which met the training requirements.

5. CONCLUSION  
We think the CERS proposal could provide the basis of a politically imaginative package. I am copying this minute to the members of Robin Hyde and to Robert Armstrong.  
(Signed) John Boskyn.

round the nomenclature operation so difficult that they were unable or unwilling to give any justification for their decision is further ground for saying they should have remitted this task to the crown court to be performed by a professional

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Cyprus 650 mld; Denmark Dkr 7.50; Egypt  
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Holland Gld 2.25; India Rs 100  
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Jordan Ls 0.425; Kuwait KD 0.500  
Libya 1.00; Luxembourg L 1.50  
Madagascar Esc 120; Malaysia M 1.50  
Nz 1.80; Oman Omr 0.700; Pakistan Ru  
Portugal Esc 120; Qatar Qr 7.50; Saudi  
1.50; Sweden Swk 1.00; Sudan SD 0.650  
3.00; Syria Ls 600; Tunisia Ddr 0.650  
USA \$1.50; UAE Dir 7.00; Yugoslavia Dn  
80.



## Surgeons ready for first heart and lung transplant in Britain

By Pearce Wright, Science Editor

Britain is on the verge of doing its first combined heart and lung transplant operation. It would be performed at the Papworth Hospital, near Cambridge, by a team working with Mr Terence English.

Surgeons at Papworth planning the procedure are encouraged by the success of the world's leading centre for this operation at Stanford, in California.

In the latest issue of the *Lancet* the Stanford transplant team, headed by Professor Norman Shumway, reports on combined heart and lung transplants of 10 patients between March, 1981, and December, 1982.

Three of the early patients died within a month of the operation but the other seven are at home and well, four months to two years after their transplantation.

Dr Shumway says the survivors have returned to normal activity. In addition to being the only successful combined heart and lung transplant centre in the world carrying out the operation regularly, Stanford has the highest survival rate in heart transplants.

There has been an exchange



Mr English: Pioneering heart-lung surgery.

of surgeons between the two teams, and Dr Shumway was in Cambridge last month explaining the latest advances made by his group.

The first heart-lung transplant was done at Stanford in March, 1981. Although more than 200 heart replacements had been performed at Stanford by then, there was a fundamental difficulty that prevented the combined operation.

The steroids needed by a recipient to avoid rejection of a

graft have an additional effect in combined heart-lung operations. They prevent the tissues which have to be connected from healing.

The answer to the incompatibility between the combined transplant procedure and steroid anti-rejection drugs came with the discovery of cyclosporin A.

Scientists at Cambridge University demonstrated that cyclosporin, a substance tested originally for antibiotic properties and put on the shelf, could be a more effective immunosuppressive agent than steroids. It was introduced into the heart transplant programme at Stanford in December, 1980, and adopted by the other centres in the world.

The results of the combined operation are far better than those attempted for just lung transplantation. Surgeons at Cambridge describe the latter efforts as "unmitigated failure". The number of patients who could possibly benefit from a lung replacement outnumber those for whom a heart transplant would be possible.

About fifty cases a year in Britain would be suitable for heart transplants.

## Triple rapist trapped by his car keys

A man from Mitcham, south London was jailed for a total of 14 years at the central Criminal Court yesterday, for a series of attacks on women at knifepoint, including three rapes.

His reign of terror spanned six months until a bunch of keys trapped him in April last year. During a struggle with a woman whom he tried to rob she grabbed his key ring, which contained three different car keys and police began a search throughout south London for a car with three different locks.

They finally found that the keys fitted a brown Cortina outside Eriel's Ennis's house in Haslemere Avenue, Mitcham. At first Ennis, aged 24, a die-caster, married with two children, denied a chain of attacks on women. But when police accused him of being a jekyll and hyde character, he confessed, Mr Richard Hawkins, for the prosecution, said.

"You see a girl and cannot control yourself - then ten minutes afterwards you wonder why you did it and try to put it out of your mind", the police told Ennis. He broke with his previous denials, saying: "Yes, it was me. They are going to lock me away for life, aren't they?" Mr Hawkins said.

Ennis was found guilty of three rapes, one robbery and one attempted robbery between

October, 1981, and April, 1982, in a series of four trials. He had denied all the charges.

One of his victims, a model aged 17, was grabbed as she left a block of flats in the Mitcham area. Ennis had been watching the flats from bushes. The police accused him of waiting for the most attractive girl to come out before striking. Ennis replied: "I suppose so...". Mr Hawkins said.

Ennis pulled the girl to a shed, holding a knife at her throat, then punched and pushed her to the floor before raping her.

Another of his rape victims, a schoolgirl aged 15, again from the Mitcham area, told how she was on her way home when Ennis drew up in his car and grabbed her by the arm.

The girl said: "It was snowing and slippery. I could not stand up. He got me to his car - I was shouting for help but none came. He started punching me in my face saying: 'I am going to kill you if you don't stop struggling.' I was frightened."

His other victim, a secretary aged 32, was beaten and raped on the pavement in a quiet road in the Mitcham area. An arm went round her throat and Ennis told her: "Do not move. I have a knife and I will use it." She too called for help in vain.

## Fox in bag allegation withdrawn

By Rupert Morris

Mr Paul Woodhouse, a former kennel huntsman, who denounced the sport in a Sunday newspaper, citing such practices as dropping foxes from bags for hounds to hunt, retracts many of his allegations today.

He admits to being "totally ashamed at the wrong publicity I have caused to hunting", in a letter published in *Horse and Hound*.

Mr Woodhouse, who was kennel huntsman and whipper-in of the Derwent Hunt, in north Yorkshire, told his version to the *News of the World* after he left his job last October. It was published under the headline "Foul Tricks of the Foxhunters - The Man who Quit in Horror Reveals All".

But Mr Woodhouse refused to attend an inquiry into the allegations by the sport's ruling body.

Mr Michael Clayton, editor of *Horse and Hound*, writes in the latest issue: "Far from being a man who 'quit in horror', Woodhouse admits that he was having a row with his master about conditions of work."

Mr Woodhouse says he was pressed into making the allegations.



The Queen, Colonel-in-Chief of the Household Cavalry, arriving with Princess Anne at Horse Guards Parade yesterday to present new standards to the cavalry.

## Prices fall in cigarette war

By Derek Harris, Commercial Editor

Plunging sales, manufacturers' price rises and the Budget increases in duties are fuelling a new price war in cigarettes. A combination of special offers by manufacturers and retailers' clipping their profit margins is shaving 6p or more off recommended retail prices.

Some cigarettes being sold in the shops below £1 for a pack of 20 probably represent a net loss to manufacturers, according to Mr Colin Mitchell, a leading tobacco industry analyst at Buckmaster & Moore, the City stockbrokers.

Nor can the makers be seeing a profit on cigarettes sold in shops for £1, when normally

they are £1.07. Mr Mitchell said. That is assuming that the price reduction is shared equally by manufacturer and retailer.

There is also a rash of special offers by manufacturers on popular ranges of cigars, mostly in the form of "flashpack" labelling. Cigar sales have been 4.5 per cent down on the year, but since the Budget there has been no worsening of the trend.

The decline in pipe tobacco sales appears to have been halted after the Chancellor's decision not to increase duties.

Cigarette sales have fallen by between 5 and 10 per cent since the Budget, compared with the same post-Budget period of last year, according to Mr Harry

Tipple, chairman of the tobacco trade affairs committee of the Retail Confectioners' and Tobacconists' Association. Mr Tipple has just completed monitoring sales among association members in the south of England.

Smokers' reactions to higher prices are only just becoming clear, because of unusually heavy stocks in the wholesale and retail pipeline. There are still a few slow-moving brands on shop shelves at pre-Budget prices, Mr Tipple said.

The manufacturers put through a 2p-a-pack increase last January, with part of the benefit going to distributors, and the Chancellor added 3p

## Hot spell could ruin crops, farmers told

By John Young

Farmers who are unable to plant potatoes and sugar beet or to spray other crops because of bad weather, have been warned that a hot, dry spell in June and July might make things worse by creating conditions similar to those in a drought.

The reason, according to officials of the government's Agricultural Development and Advisory Service, is that roots are likely to have rotted in the wet soil and if the top soil dries out in the coming weeks their ability to absorb moisture will be limited.

## Widow loses fight to cut children out of will

Mr Charlotte Dickson, a racehorse breeder, yesterday lost her High Court fight to cut her children out of their late father's £250,000 estate. She had asked a judge to uphold a copy of the will of Mr Donald Dickson, who died, aged 62, leaving everything to her.

But what happened to the original of the will remains a mystery, and Mr Justice Goulding ruled that he had to presume that it had been deliberately destroyed by Mr Dickson.

The decision means that his six children, four by his widow and two by a previous marriage, are now entitled to a share of his money under an intestacy.

Mr Dickson, aged 59, of Star Hill Drive, Chart, Surrey, was not in court to hear the judge paint a picture of a "none too happy family". He said there was "little real affection" between the couple and their children.

But, Mr Justice Goulding said, husband and wife "had a mutual devotion in spite of the strange way they conducted their life together".

It was clear that Mr Dickson, retired head of an engineering company, had made a will in favour of his wife in May, 1978. His solicitor retained a copy and Mr Dickson said he was going to lodge the original with his bank, which never received it. Mr Dickson died in December 1981.

The judge had been told that Mrs Dickson's most successful horse was a stallion called Gold Rod, which won more than £90,000 in three years of racing, and after two years at stud was eventually sold in 1975 for £45,000. But Mrs Dickson calculated that over the years her business just broke even.

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## Plane disappears over Atlantic

## Oxygen clue to crash of jet

By John Witherow

The West German authorities yesterday started investigating the disappearance of a private jet over the North Atlantic amid speculation that the crew of the aircraft fell unconscious during an accidental decompression.

Three pilots were on board the Learjet, one of the most widely used and reliable private aircraft in the world, when the plane changed direction on its route from Vienna to Hamburg, and headed north west over Scotland towards Iceland. Dutch and RAF fighters intercepted the jet but saw no one at the controls or in the cabin.

The Federal Office of Aviation, in Brunswick, began an inquiry to determine the fate of the aircraft, which was believed to have crashed into the ocean when fuel ran out more than 300 miles north-west of Scotland.

A search on Wednesday night by an RAF Nimrod and a US Navy Orion based in Iceland over an area of 50,000 square miles found no wreckage. It was thought that plane may have plunged into the sea and quickly sunk. The search was abandoned yesterday when it was decided there could be no survivors.

The Dusseldorf air taxi firm owning the Lear, Air Traffic GmbH, said the plane had taken a passenger to Vienna on Wednesday and the three pilots, two of them experienced captains, had decided to fly to Hamburg to carry out routine

tests and add to their flying hours.

The company denied reports that the crew might have simulated a decompression for training purposes only to find that it had gone wrong. A similar incident occurred two years ago during a training flight over England. A Beechcraft Super King Air 200 crashed after the plane's captain released the cabin pressure at 30,000 ft to demonstrate an emergency descent.

The two pilots put on masks which were not connected to the oxygen supply and were overcome by hypoxia, a state of apparent well being which quickly leads to unconsciousness. The autopilot continued to fly the aircraft and it crashed in a French vineyard seven hours after taking off.

The company's denial widened speculation that the Learjet's crew was victim of an accidental decompression and that for unknown reasons they were unable to use the emergency oxygen masks.

Captain Ian Cooper, one of the few experienced Learjet pilots in Britain, said yesterday: "It is my theory that there had been a decompression that was not apparent to the crew and that they were overcome by lack of oxygen."

He speculated that the man in the cabin would have been alerted to the fall in pressure by the appearance of the automatic oxygen masks, but that the two in the cockpit

would have had to reach for them.

It was possible, he said, that the man in the cabin might have tried to drag the two men into the cabin, towards the oxygen, before he too was overcome.

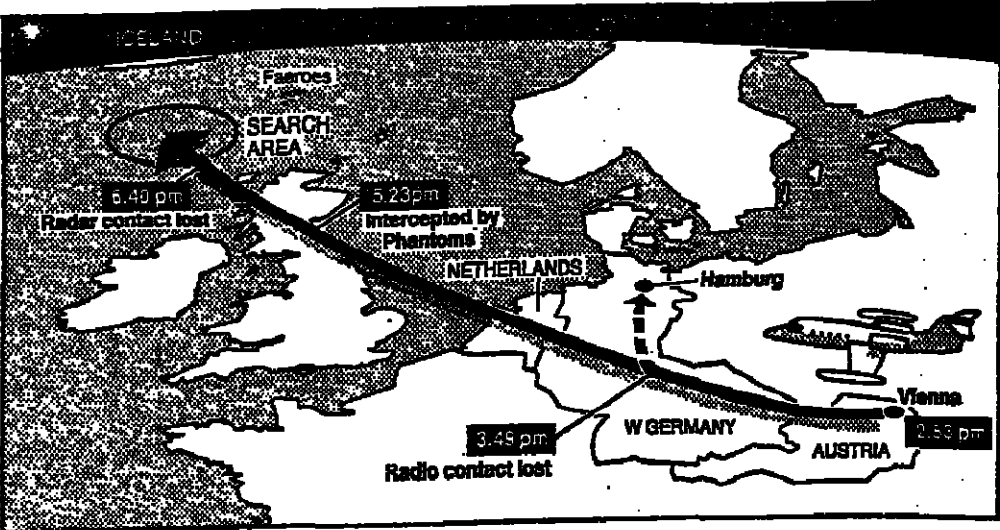
That could explain why two RAF Phantom jets from Leuchars, Fife, which intercepted the Learjet, could see no one at the controls. Flying Officer Mark Hanna, aged 23, piloted his Phantom to within 30 ft of the jet nine miles above Scotland as it flew at 450 mph.

"We could see seats inside the front cockpit and the white headrests. There was certainly no one in there", he said.

The flight from Vienna, which took off at 2.53 pm, was normal until 3.49 pm, when radio contact was lost as the jet flew about 60 miles north-east of Frankfurt. The plane, which had been switched to autopilot soon after takeoff, setting a course and altitude, continued north-west as air traffic controllers alerted Nato air forces.

An aviation expert argued that the plane might have suffered a failure in the machinery which compresses the air from the twin engines and then cools it to cabin temperature.

Dr John Lemon, of the Civil Aviation Authority, said that could lead to a rapid decline in performance through hypoxia.



The route probably taken by the Learjet.

# Thomas Tilling

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## The sum of our parts makes us strong

Builders' Merchants, Construction Materials and Services, Electronic Equipment and Supplies, Energy Equipment, Health Care, Electrical Equipment, Distribution, Insurance, Manufacturing Engineering, Furniture, Publishing, Textiles, Tiles and Pottery, Japan Trading.



# How opinion polls can transform the mood of a campaign

By David Butler

If opinion polls did not exist this would be a very different election. Mrs Thatcher might not have called it in the first place, had Conservative Central Office not had sustained poll evidence of her strength.

Moreover, in the days since the announcement the mood would have been transformed if the polls had not been giving daily indications of a buoyant Conservative lead and of an Alliance slump. There would be far more talk of hung Parliament and even the Conservative might be running scared.

In the ten days following the announcement on May 9, no fewer than 14 national polls were reported. The Conservative lead over Labour varied between 7 and 21 per cent (with an average of 15 per cent). Alliance strength has varied between 14 and 22 per cent.

When allowance is made for dates at which the interviews were taken, it would seem that the mere coming of the elections has increased the Conservative proportion by about 4 per cent and reduced the Alliance by a similar amount.

Six independent polling organizations are responsible for all these surveys. They are MORI, Gallup, Marplan, NOP, Harris and Audience Selection.

There can be no categorical answers about which is the best poll. All the main pollsters are well-established market research companies with a great

commercial interest in being seen to be accurate. There must always be the temptation, for reasons either of cost or of getting speedy results, to cut corners in methods of sampling or training of interviewers, but no one has ever pinned serious malfeasance on any of the major companies.

However, the polls are on occasion been decidedly wrong in their election forecast. The average error of the major polls in their final predictions of the winning party's lead has been 4 per cent over the last four elections. Away from the final validation of the ballot box the discrepancies between the polls have been even greater.

Twenty-two per cent would give the Conservatives a 250 overall majority; 7 per cent would give them a mere 34.

Conscientiously conducted polls can produce different results for many reasons. There are the refusals (the 10 per cent who will not be interviewed) and the "won't say" (the 4 per cent who refuse to answer the "how will you vote" question) and the "don't know" (those who pretend to be or who really are uncertain).

The numbers will vary with the training and the skills of the interviewer, and the quality of the interviewing teams does vary. But the "won't say" can have a vote imputed to them on the basis of their other answers. And the "don't know" can, in the professional vernacular, be

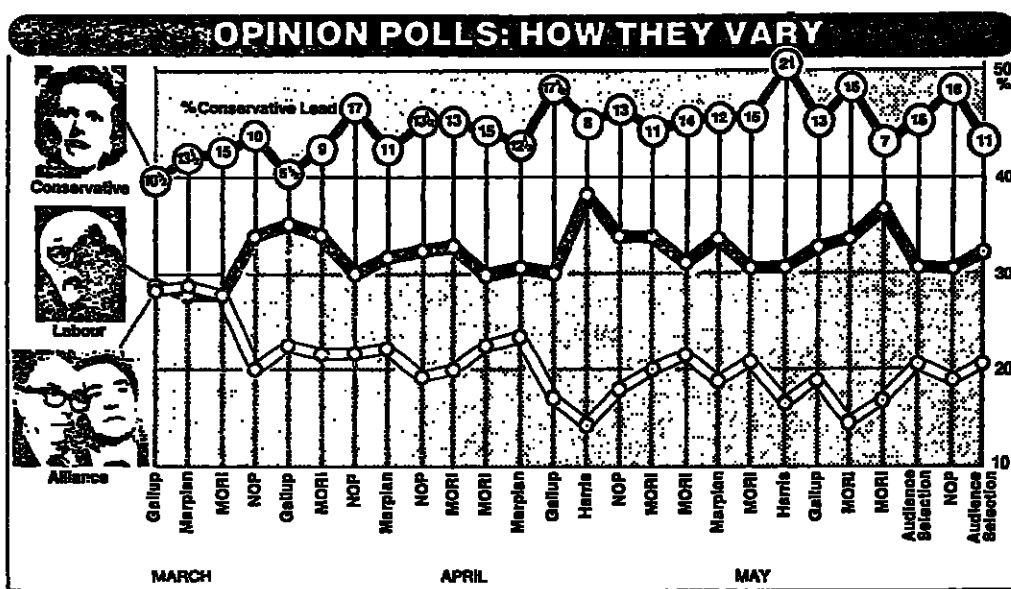
"squeezed" to say ow, if they really had to, they might incline. Squeezing, competently done will reduce the "don't know" from, say 17 to 7 per cent.

Moreover, as the election advances, there arises the problem of a turnout "sieve". How many of the intending voters will actually go and mark a ballot? In 1979 the nominal turnout was 75 per cent. Allowing for the inefficiency of the register one can calculate that 15 per cent of possible electors refrain from voting. Such people have the potential to falsify any prediction.

When all these uncertainties are added to the problems of fraudulent interviewers, office errors, accidents of sampling and last-minute changes of mind, the miracle is not that they agree so closely and that their record in forecasting elections is, relatively speaking, so good.

Polls are fallible and must not be slavishly believed. But, as one who has followed elections closely since the 1940s, I must confess that, with a very full awareness of the possibilities of error, I watch the polls more closely than any other source of information.

Mr judgment of what is happening is more swayed by the relatively objective evidence of the latest poll than by the most informed tip from the most inside of inside tipsters.



## Communists' twin aim

By John Winder

With the twin themes, Jobs not Bombs and Tories Out, the Communist Party manifesto was launched yesterday, showing close points of similarity to the Labour manifesto.

Mr Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the party, said at an introductory press conference in Camden that the general policy was to unite with the left in parliament, councils, unions and the like, and to struggle for agreement, although on occasions, Communists would have to stand on a matter of principle when agreement could not be reached.

The manifesto sets the party's target as the defeat of the Thatcher Government and says that its policies would begin to open the way for a socialist Britain governed by and for the people.

"It would be run for the benefit of the majority, not for the interests of his business. Production would be socially controlled and planned. Everybody would have the right and opportunity to work, to be educated, to a home."

## Militia pledge

The vision of a new Britain with the police and the Army replaced by a "people's militia", dedicated to the defence of the communist bloc, was unveiled in London by the Workers Revolutionary Party. The party also called for nationalization of the banks, land and industry in its election manifesto. It is putting up 21 candidates.

Only when the anarchy of the capitalist market was replaced by a socialist planned economy would the scourge of unemployment be ended, but immediate measures could take millions off the dole queue.

The market for goods should be expanded by increasing people's purchasing power with higher wages and pensions and rejection of any incomes policy. Strict controls should be imposed on export of capital coupled with a huge Government investment programme in industry. A big increase in public investment would stimu-

late the private sector. Financing that would partly be by savings on the cost of unemployment; drastic cuts in arms spending; a wealth tax for the rich; and using North Sea oil revenues for investment.

Extended public ownership should be accompanied by compulsory planning agreements in private firms. Import controls are vital to expansion of the economy and that should include expansion of trade with Third World and socialist countries. Import controls and other measures needed for an expansion policy would come up against EEC rules, so immediate British withdrawal from the Community was crucial.

Britain should renounce the claim to the Falklands and support UN negotiations; should support sanctions against apartheid in South Africa and recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization. Tax thresholds should be raised substantially. The party is hoping to field 36 candidates. In the 1979 election, it polled 15,958 votes.



## Foot mastering the small screen

By David Felton

Concerted attempts by Mr Michael Foot's advisers to improve his public image and his appeal to the electorate appear to be paying off as he displays a growing confidence in dealing with television, a medium which does not easily suit his political style.

The Foot camp realized that as the campaign was to be fought largely on television screens a relaxed conversational manner before the cameras was essential. So far he appears to be taking that advice, not least from his wife Jill who has been travelling with him this week.

There is no doubting Mr Foot is far happier on the platform at the big political meetings where he feeds off his audience enthusiasm and fervour, than in the calm one-to-one television interview.

Seasoned observers of Mr Foot pronounced his appearance at the cavernous Apollo Theatre in Glasgow at the start of the week to be the Foot of old; he was buoyed by his enthusiastic reception from the 1,200-strong audience, most of whom were the party faithful.

His aides say that however tired he is after a strenuous day, a big political rally gets the adrenalin pumping and rejuvenates him. They attribute the turn-around in the successful Darlington by-election campaign to his appearance in the constituency and in particular to a typical Foot speech at a key rally.

But the problem has been television and his appearance on regional programmes this week have been monitored by Sir Thomas McCaffrey, his

public relations adviser, and Mrs Foot as the process of trying to smooth the rumpled image continues.

There was an example of Mr Foot's lack of awareness of the way a small detail can be exaggerated by the cameras in television studios in Glasgow on Monday. He had to be told to unbutton his jacket because his habit of leaning back at an angle in an interview chair crumples the expensive suits that his wife insists he now buys.

Sh has been persuading him not to take his casual style into the studios and wants him to appear more chatty on the screen. Most of all he has been urged to sit still while on camera, which Mr Foot finds difficult.

His nervousness and im-

patience with having to wait until the end of a long question before he can answer can produce almost comical mannerisms including a tendency to allow his head to move from side to side.

The Foot camp feel, however, that his television style is improving although there is an acknowledgement that he will never have the same impact on the screen that he can produce in a packed hall when in full flow. There is also the obvious point that age does not count for much at political rallies whereas unflattering lighting in a studio can emphasize Mr Foot's 69 years.

So far he has pleased his advisers and the Foot camp is ending optimism about the future of the campaign.

## Sedgefield spoilt for choice

By Ronald Faux

Some weighty names and political reputations have been rejected by the executive committee of Sedgefield Constituency Labour Party, in Durham, in drawing up its short list of prospective candidates for the much sought-after seat.

There were 45 nominations and 17 hopefuls. The local election results gave Labour 40 of the 49 seats on Sedgefield District Council, which could account for the keen interest to stand as MP for Sedgefield shown by such eminent people as Mr Joel Barnett, former Chief Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Sidney Weighell, former general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, and Mr David Watkins, former MP for Consett.

The executive short list, which will be put to the 120 members of the local general committee tonight, recommends Mr Reginald Race, the former MP for Wood Green, London, Mr Leslie Hunkfield, the retiring MP for Newcastle, Mr Frank Robson, a Darlington district councillor, Mr William Giffin, a fire brigade union official, and Mr Patricia MacIntyre, a local Labour stalwart.

The local party is certain Labour will win Sedgefield because of the local election results and the severe effects of the recession on the area.



Weighty matters: Mr Roy Jenkins making a serious point to Mr Cyril Smith at the SDP/Liberal Alliance press conference yesterday (Photograph: John Manning).

## Alliance programme 'the only hope'

By Our Political Staff

Of the three party manifestos now published, Labour's and the Conservatives' offered more of the same tired, failed policies," Mr Roy Jenkins, the Social Democratic Party leader, said yesterday.

Only the Alliance programme offered realistic hope for the future. "Only the Alliance has faced up to the need both to bring about expansion and to establish an effective pay and prices policy so that jobs can be created without inflation taking off," he said.

Labour's claim to be able to reduce unemployment by 2.5 million by huge increases in spending was simply not credible. "We would be back, in no time and in an exaggerated

form, to the 1974-75 position," Mr Jenkins said.

"The International Monetary Fund would be into Whitehall and the brakes would jammed on; with a still further increase in unemployment." It was also clear that Labour's policy on Europe would be "devastating" in terms of lost jobs.

The Conservatives had merely offered more of the same policies which would mean even more people out of work. "Any sustained reduction in unemployment without running into inflation barrier is not possible unless you are prepared to bite the bullet on a fair prices and incomes policy."

Sharing the platform at the daily Alliance press conference,

Mr Cyril Smith, MP for Rochdale, was spokesman for the Liberals. He said the Conservatives plan for local government reform would have his total support. "County councils are an unnecessary burden and an absolute waste of time, and the sooner we get shot of them, the better."

On the other hand, the Alliance would want to see some further devolution of power from Whitehall to "the lowest geographical level of local government as possible compatible with economic viability."

The Alliance stood for the establishment of regional government.

An internal pressure group called the Liberals and Social Democrats Against Bloodsports has worked for more than a year to persuade the two Alliance parties to place the abolition of hunting and coursing in their manifesto. Neither is mentioned in the document despite admitted personal distaste for hunting by Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader.

Alliance leaders have calculated that strong opposition to hunting could reduce support in rural areas where Liberals have some of their best chances of beating Conservatives. "Their manifesto shows that they are gutless," Mr Course said. "They deserve to be slaughtered."

He would not comment about the policy of the Animal Protection Alliance, a federation of welfare groups of which he is secretary. It is almost certain to advise its 500,000 supporters to vote Labour.

Tomorrow: home ownership

## CONSTITUENCY PROFILE Stirling

### Where extremes meet

CANDIDATES:  
Michael Forsyth  
Michael Connerty  
Ross Finnie  
Bill Houston

C  
Lab  
L  
SNP

Architecturally and historically speaking Stirling's loyalty is to the Scottish Nationalists and Liberals. The royal borough is dominated by the memorial to the battle of Bannockburn and statues of William Wallace, Robert the Bruce and Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Prime Minister who represented the town for 40 years. Even the Conservative Party headquarters are situated in Gladstone Place.

In this election, however, the battle between the Liberals and nationalists will be to avoid bottom place in the poll. Stirling is one of Scotland's key marginals with a left-wing Labour candidate facing a right-wing Tory.

The new seat, which occupies some 800 square miles of Central Region has been formed by taking 19,500 voters from the old Stirling, Falkirk and Grangemouth constituency and 22,000 from West Stirlingshire, both safe Labour seats, with a further 13,000 voters from the old Kinross and West Perthshire seat of Mr Nicholas Fairbairn the Conservative.

Most of the voters live in the south-east corner of the new constituency, which is a mixture of commuter towns for Glasgow

an unashamed enthusiast, and he is also portrayed as an outsider, despite the fact that he was brought up in a council house in Montrose.

The battle between Connerty and Forsyth is likely to be fierce. The local Conservatives have already taken Connerty to court and obtained an injunction to stop him giving trade unionists representation on the policy committee of the council. Five full-time union officials have been seconded to help him in his campaign.

Another battle is looming between Labour and the local electoral registration officer over whether the 2,000 or so students at Stirling University, which ends its semester at the end of this month, can get postal votes for June 9. There is a strong Labour vote in the university which has been badly hit by government cuts and faces reduction in student numbers.

Mr Forsyth also sees the university as an important issue but prefers to emphasize a successful recent deal with the Japanese electronics company, Wang, which will bring 700 new jobs to a factory adjoining the campus. He cites this as an example of public and private partnership and predicts the development of a high technology science park in the area.

The SNP, which came a close second in the October, 1974 election in all three of the

seats from which the new constituency has been formed, is fielding Mr Bill Houston, aged 31, a community worker. He says the nationalist vote is starting to come back and will be campaigning hard on the nuclear issue and education cuts.

Mr Ross Finnie, aged 38, a Glasgow merchant banker, will be carrying the Alliance standard. Mr Finnie, who is chairman of the Scottish Liberal Party, says his Liberalism derives from Hobhouse and has the services of a Church of Scotland minister as his agent.

Ian Bradley



Mr Bill Houston, Stirling's SNP candidate, in buoyant mood yesterday

## Stunt called off

Mr Henry Bellingham, Conservative candidate for Norfolk, North West, has cancelled an aircraft wing-walking stunt for charity. Legal advisers told him that the cost of the stunt would be set against his election expenses.

## Bakewell visit

Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader, yesterday visited the Bakewell pudding shop in Bakewell, Derbyshire, where the famous jam tarts are made to a secret recipe.

## CONSTITUENCY PROFILE Carmarthen

### Hope pinned on U-turn

CANDIDATES:  
Roger Thomas  
Gwynfor Evans  
Nigel Thomas

Lab  
PC  
C

Supporters of Plaid Cymru are hoping that a surprising policy switch which now commits the party to support membership of the EEC will enable them to recapture from Labour the agricultural and highly marginal seat of Carmarthen.

After years of calling for Britain to leave the EEC, Plaid has now decided that its policies are likely to protect Wales from the "worst of Thatcherism" and the U-turn should help their candidate, Mr Gwynfor Evans, in his bid to capture the seat for the third time.

His first victory in 1966 was one of the great turning points in the party's history and he is now revered by supporters as its elder statesman. It was his threat to embark on a hunger strike which forced the Government to concede the establishment of a Welsh Language television channel.

At his adoption meeting last night Mr Evans returned to his persistent theme of Wales winning the democratic right to make her own decisions instead of seeing them made in London.

"The only way of influencing Westminster to pay attention to the problems of Wales is by strengthening Welsh nationalism for which London has a

healthy respect and even fear", he said.

Dr Roger Thomas, the Labour candidate, who defeated Mr Evans in the last election, does not accept the analysis

which suggests that the seat would be vulnerable to Plaid Cymru on a swing of only 0.8 per cent.

"Boundary changes have brought traditionally Labour areas of the Amman Valley into the new constituency and will, I believe, strengthen my position."

The main thrust of his campaign will be pitched against unemployment and the need for special economic development status for his constituency.

There has been controversy over the role of Welsh language schools in the constituency and Dr Thomas favours them for anglicized areas, but believes

they are counter-productive in the more rural parts.

Mr Nigel Thomas, who polled 12,272 votes to come third when he fought the constituency for the Conservatives in 1979, hopes to build on the 18 per cent swing by concentrating on agricultural issues.

"There is a great deal of feeling against the Labour threat to nationalise tenured land people are frightened that it is a first step towards the nationalization of all land. He will be telling the voters that Plaid in Parliament always votes with Labour and he will draw attention to the Government's record in helping small businesses."

The need for continued membership of the EEC will also figure largely in the campaign of Mrs Judith Collins, the Alliance candidate who represents the SDP, although she will be arguing for the need to reform the common agricultural policy.

"My message is that we represent the alternatives between the most right wing government of the century and the Labour Party that has gone far to the left," she said.

In the coming weeks all four candidates will spend a lot of time visiting livestock markets for which they know it is the farmers who will decide.

Tim Jones



Treaty warning • Strike threat derided • Selection upheld • CND membership

ELECTION JUNE 83

# Labour's EEC plans mean industrial chaos, minister says

By Anthony Bevins, Political Correspondent

Labour plans for EEC withdrawal would create chaos in the steel, textile and farming industries, Mr Douglas Hurd, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said yesterday.

Mr Hurd told the *Times* yesterday that a Labour government, by fulfilling its pledge to repeal section two of the European Communities Act, 1972, would not only be acting in breach of the Treaty of Accession, 1972 - a diplomatic rebuff which would torpedo chances of future agreements which had been built up by Community regulation, around steel, textiles and agriculture. Price support for British farming could lose its legal foundation, textiles could flood in from South Korea and Hong Kong, and regulations for curbing steel imports could become illegal.

The minister said: "All the detailed arrangements for agricultural pricing would be called into question. Would we still apply the common external tariff? A farmer wants to know how he is going to sell his produce."

"If a new Westminster Parliament at once repeals section two, that farmer would be in uncertainty as how he is going to sell his produce. Similarly, the British Steel Corporation and the private steel producers would be in uncertainty about what rules they were going to operate, what prices they were free to fix and what they were not."

"A chap wanting to buy textiles, import textiles, would be uncertain. All these matters

would have to be dealt with. I think you would quickly find that you needed legislation to deal with these points. There is no suggestion in the Labour documents that that has been understood."

Mr Hurd said that uncertainty and chaos would result. "And therefore it would not happen. They would find that they would be drawn by the immediate force of events into rushing into all kinds of detailed legislation, which would take them further into argument about breach of treaty and further into arguments of substance; and therefore the process that they have described is an unreal one."

He also quoted the precedent of Greenland's withdrawal as an example of the complex negotiations which were necessary in advance of departure.

"We have said that there will be a change of the treaties, and before there can be a change of the treaties to give Greenland some sort of status outside the Community, there has to be negotiation about the actual things - fish, trade and aid - and it is only when that has been done that the member states, can agree to Greenland's withdrawal."

The Danish Government had fully realized that it could not get a satisfactory deal for Greenland by passing legislation, unilaterally, and then talking about the substance.

"The idea that, having done that, you could then go into friendly relations as if nothing had happened is quite unrealistic," he added.

## Healey and Tebbit jobs clash

Continued from page 1

interview that the extremists of the Militant Tendency had been declared ineligible for Labour Party membership, but Labour had five Militant Tendency parliamentary candidates with two of whom Mr Michael Foot shared a platform on Tuesday.

It would be uncharitable to call Mr Healey a liar but what he said was untrue.

The CRPS report, entitled "Unemployment and Young People", examined youth unemployment in February 1981 when there were 2.2 million registered unemployed. It said that prospects for young school leavers were bleak, and that by the end of 1983, between 50 per cent and 70 per cent of the labour force under 18 might never have had a proper job.

The report recommended that a compulsory year of "foundation training" for school leavers should be considered; that various measures should be taken to reduce young people's wages in relation to those of adults; and that government funded community work programmes should be expanded.

The political sensitivity of any steps to widen the differentials between youth and adult wages was recognised in a paper commenting on the proposals, written for the Prime Minister by Mr (now Sir) John Hoskyns, then head of the No 10 Policy Unit.

Yesterday the Government's critics, most of whom based themselves on excerpts from the papers published with a hostile commentary by the radical journal, *Time Out*, said the papers showed that ministers received and concealed accurate forecasts of the heights to which unemployment would rise.

## Policies on jobless 'deceitful'

By Our Political Correspondent

The portrayal of Labour's policy for economic recovery as a cruel deceit emerged last night as a consistent theme of the Conservative counter-attack against the week-long Labour campaign on unemployment.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said at an adoption meeting in Lymington, Surrey, that Mr Michael Foot and his shadow chancellor, Mr Peter Shore, had failed to learn the lesson of Mr James Callaghan's administration: that employment could not be increased by cutting taxes and boosting borrowing.

He added: "They are peddling Labour's simple, painless option as though it had never been tried before. It is a cruel deceit."

Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence, made the identical point at his adoption meeting in Watlington, Oxford.

The Secretaries of State for Employment, Environment and Wales are among the Conservatives speaking at adoption meetings round the country tonight.

Mr Norman Tebbit will speak in Chingford, east London, Mr Tom King in Bridgewater, Somerset, and Mr Nicholas Edwards will address his adoption meeting in Pembroke, Dyfed.

Mr Nigel Lawson is speaking in Coventry, Leicestershire and Mr Norman Lamont is addressing party workers in Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

For the Labour Party, Mr Foot will address public meetings in Leicester and Northampton and Mr Denis Healey will speak in Portsmouth and Southampton.



Ready to go: The prime minister on board the campaign coach in which she will begin her tour of Britain today. She made clear yesterday she intends to keep up a furious pace. "We do not have a moment of time to lose or waste," she said. The coach that will ferry her and personal entourage of about a dozen is a specially adapted British-made

Leyland Tiger. The vehicle's rear half has been converted into an office with telephone, typewriter, desks, television, coffee and tea machine and there will be a radio link with the accompanying press coach. "We have it all set up so that we do not waste a moment," Mrs Thatcher said. "We get a tremendous amount of work done on policy

matters, correspondence and speeches." Mrs Thatcher will be returning to London most evenings. With her on the trip, in addition to her husband and daughter, will be Mr Peter Wolfson, Downing Street chief of staff, Mr John Whittingdale, research head, Mr Roger Boaden, tour organizer, Mr Derek Howe, press adviser and, on days

when key speeches are to be made, one of either of her two main speech writers, Mr Ferdinand Mount and Sir Ronald Miller. Mr Ian Gow, her parliamentary private secretary, and Mr Michael Spicer, party vice-chairman will be with the Prime Minister for about half the tour.

(Photograph: Harry Kerr)

## Campaigns launched

### Plaid Cymru demands £2bn to help jobless

From Tim Jones, Cardiff

Plaid Cymru yesterday launched its official election campaign with a demand for a £2bn investment programme to reduce unemployment in Wales, which it claims is closer to a quarter of a million than the officially conceded figure of 176,000.

Mr Dafydd Wigley, the party's president, said that the programme would be funded from controlled borrowing, a reduction in defence expenditure and increased personal taxation for high wage earners.

During a packed press conference, the largest since the days in 1979 when the party's two MPs held the balance of power, Mr Wigley poured the cold-laced invective upon the Conservatives and scorned the Labour Party for failing to defend Wales.

Wales, he said, had never given the Conservatives a majority. "Yet we are forced to suffer English right-wing Tory policies because we are tied to England's apron strings."

He added "When the Tories are in office Wales is shamelessly exploited, its resources appropriated and its people told that if they want work they must leave Wales. Labour prefers Wales to be governed from London because Labour needs Welsh MPs as lobby fodder."

He said that although Wales could not prevent Mrs Margaret Thatcher from becoming Prime Minister of England it could stop her from ruling Wales if its people voted for their own parliament.

## SDLP attacks IRA

From Richard Ford, Belfast

The campaign for the votes of SDLP candidate in South Belfast, denounced the PSF as an organization prepared to manipulate the despair in areas of high deprivation when he launched the SDLP campaign.

In West Belfast Dr Joe Hendron, the SDLP candidate who faces a tough struggle to prevent the PSF winning the seat from Mr Gerard Fitt (Independent Socialist), accused the Provisional IRA of crippling young people in "kneecapping" punishments for minor crimes.

Dr Alistair McDonnell, the

PSF is mounting a significant electoral challenge to the constitutional nationalism of the SDLP as part of its strategy to replace it as the main voice of the province's Roman Catholic population.

Dr Alistair McDonnell, the

people of Scotland are faced with a stark choice at the ballot box, Mr Gordon Wilson, chairman of the Scottish National Party said yesterday in launching his party's manifesto in Edinburgh.

Scots could vote for one of the British parties and accept longer queue and greater economic misery, he said. "Or they can choose Scotland by voting for the SNP. Only the path of Scottish independence offers the chance to revive our economy and regain our national self-respect."

The SNP would increase stock of new and modernized homes and encourage home ownership. It wants a single system of multi-purpose councils to replace the present two-tier system.

includes, for example people from the Roman Catholic, Methodist and Quaker traditions.

In 1977, when CND's membership was down to 3,000, both the chairman, Mr John Cox, who is now a vice-president, and the general secretary, Mr Duncan Rees, who is now on the staff and in the Labour Party, were Communist Party members.

Altogether there are more than a dozen past and present Communists among the 144 people who make up CND's council, staff and vice-presidents. Some, such as Mr Will Howard, who left the party a few months ago, or Mr Paul Neecholls, Mr Ian Davidson and Dr Alan Mackinnon, who are on the executives and current party members, are in positions of influence on CND's committees and day to day management.

CND's national council acting on conference resolutions, can lay down policy and tactics, but it is up to the hundreds of CND local groups to carry them out. As one executive member said last week: "We can pass resolutions until we are blue in the face, but if local groups do not want to carry them out there is nothing we can do about it."

## Selection of Tory upheld by judge

A last-minute attempt to prevent the adoption of a

Portsmouth businessman, Mr Peter Hubbard-Miles, as prospective Conservative candidate for the New Bridgend (South Wales) constituency failed at Cardiff Crown Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Eastham heard arguments from Mr G. Forbes Hayes, an executive council member of Bridgend Conservative Association, before dismissing the writ opposing Mr Hubbard-Miles's adoption.

The judge said there had been minor breaches of the rules in the adoption procedure, but they were not sufficient, in his view, to render the proceedings null and void.

A complaint that a meeting which voted on Mr Hubbard-Miles had included members with less than six months' standing was rejected by the judge.

## Young Liberals' 'white list'

The Young Liberals revealed last night that they are drawing up a "white list" of people who will receive their concentrated support during the election.

The list, which is still being completed, includes Mr David Alton, Mr Richard Wainwright, Mr Simon Hughes and Mr Bill Pitt, all former MPs, and Mr John Alderson, the former chief constable of Devon and Cornwall.

## Visit cancelled

Mr Casper Weinberger the United States Defence Secretary, has cancelled a lecture he was due to give at the Oxford Union next Friday after being told by Mr Michael Heseltine, the Secretary of State for Defence, it was inadvisable during an election campaign.

Mr Mortimer said the vital principle was that the unions should be independent and free. Governments should not legislate to order how unions should be run. "Is not this our criticism of Poland?" he asked.

Replying to a question, Mr Mortimer said that he did not regard the introduction of secret ballots as an attack on trade unionism, after all, many unions had provisions for balloting. There were others, in industries with a different history and tradition, where there were different arrangements.

Under the government proposals, the responsibilities of union executives would have to be defined. In pay bargaining and disputes, as he knew from experience, issues could not always be referred back to the membership.

For the Liberal/Social Democratic Party Alliance Mr Roy Jenkins, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, commented: "It is nonsense to talk about general strikes in protest against a Tory government being elected. The way to prevent it being elected is by votes in the ballot box, not by threats of industrial action."

"This election is about democracy being properly settled by individuals voting, not by unions using their industrial power for political ends."

Mr Michael Foot, at the Labour Party press conference, said "I advise people to read what Mr McCuskie said. It was that if unions are attacked, they are likely to defend themselves. It is not such an extraordinary statement."

"When I heard about it, I was reminded of what was said about the natives of Papua—that they were such a fierce and intractable race of savages that, if fired upon, they had no scruples about retaliating. I tell you that if the trade unions are fired upon, they will retaliate."

Mr Foot asked Mr James Mortimer, general secretary of the party, to comment on the Conservative proposals for regulating the unions, in the light of his long experience as chairman of the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS).

Mr Mortimer said the vital

## General strike threat derided by Jenkins

By Our Political Staff

The prediction by Mr Sam McCuskie, chairman of the Labour Party, that a general strike might be the result of a Conservative victory and an increase in unemployment, was the subject of comment at party press conferences in London yesterday.

Mr McCuskie made his prediction at the Fire Brigades Union conference in Bridlington, Humberside, on Wednesday but later explained that he had suggested the strike threat would come if the total of unemployment went up to six million.

For the Liberal/Social Democratic Party Alliance Mr Roy Jenkins, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, commented: "It is nonsense to talk about general strikes in protest against a Tory government being elected. The way to prevent it being elected is by votes in the ballot box, not by threats of industrial action."

"This election is about democracy being properly settled by individuals voting, not by unions using their industrial power for political ends."

Mr Michael Foot, at the Labour Party press conference, said "I advise people to read what Mr McCuskie said. It was that if unions are attacked, they are likely to defend themselves. It is not such an extraordinary statement."

"When I heard about it, I was reminded of what was said about the natives of Papua—that they were such a fierce and intractable race of savages that, if fired upon, they had no scruples about retaliating. I tell you that if the trade unions are fired upon, they will retaliate."

Mr Foot asked Mr James Mortimer, general secretary of the party, to comment on the Conservative proposals for regulating the unions, in the light of his long experience as chairman of the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS).

Mr Mortimer said the vital principle was that the unions should be independent and free. Governments should not legislate to order how unions should be run. "Is not this our criticism of Poland?" he asked.

Replying to a question, Mr Mortimer said that he did not regard the introduction of secret ballots as an attack on trade unionism, after all, many unions had provisions for balloting. There were others, in industries with a different history and tradition, where there were different arrangements.

Under the government proposals, the responsibilities of union executives would have to be defined. In pay bargaining and disputes, as he knew from experience, issues could not always be referred back to the membership.

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## Geoffrey Smith



## COMMENT

One of the features of this campaign has been the way in which Mr Denis Healey has chosen to interpret Labour defence policy. From 1964 to 1970 he was a distinguished Secretary of State for Defence, who won much respect inside the ministry and outside. But it is an open secret that he is not happy with what Labour is now proposing in this field. Having been unable to change it, he is restating it in terms which are worth examining.

The principal defence proposals in the manifesto are to cancel the Trident programme and to refuse to deploy cruise missiles on British territory; to remove all nuclear bases from Britain within the lifetime of the Labour government, in due course to remove all nuclear weapons from this country; to include Britain's Polaris forces in the nuclear disarmament negotiations; and, "after consultation", to "carry through" in the lifetime of the next parliament our non-nuclear defence policy.

## No Healey qualms on cruise ban

That is what the manifesto says. But what does Mr Healey say? He has no difficulty over the cancellation of Trident and the rejection of cruise missiles. He accepts these proposals.

The removal of all nuclear bases from Britain evidently causes him no qualms because "as the Trident submarine comes into service the American nuclear base in Holy Loch will no longer be required". Moreover, "Mrs Thatcher herself told Jimmy Young that the F111 bombers that are here are obsolescent". But if Mrs Thatcher did say that, she was misinformed.

The F111 is not approaching the end of its known useful life, it can continue to be modified as required, and it is understood that there are no plans to withdraw it. So far as Trident is concerned, the United States does indeed have two of these submarines in service, with plans for others, but Holy Loch will be needed until the end of this century for servicing Poseidon.

So if Mr Healey intends to wait until the Americans withdraw of their own accord, all nuclear bases will not be removed in the lifetime of the Labour government. If, on the other hand, that commitment is to be kept, it will not, in other words, be a painless operation for the Atlantic Alliance.

Mr Healey seems reasonably enough to have interpreted the commitment on Polaris in multilateralist terms. If the Soviet Union will not do a deal at Geneva, then we keep it. But what then of the promise to remove all nuclear weapons from British territory, even though no timescale is attached to that commitment?

Mr Healey's interpretation of "our non-nuclear defence policy" is particularly interesting: "what Labour supports is organizing NATO strategy so that it can deter a massive Soviet conventional attack without requiring to threaten the first use of nuclear weapons." He has therefore restated the proposition so as to imply that it means simply a NATO strategy of flexible response with no first-use of nuclear weapons.

## Condemning UK to disrupting Nato

So Mr Healey has formulated the party's defence programme to mean that, apart from cancelling Trident and rejecting cruise missiles, a Labour government would wait for a voluntary American withdrawal from their nuclear bases that would not take place, make an offer to bargain away Polaris that the Soviets might well not take up, and advocate a NATO strategy that the alliance would probably not accept.

An ingenious exercise, it might be thought, that would enable a Labour administration to govern rather more in the national interest than the manifesto would suggest. Up to a point it may be. But it would condemn Britain not only to disrupting NATO by rejecting cruise missiles, but also to pressing an unrealistic strategy upon the alliance. To promise no first-use of nuclear weapons would make sense only if our conventional forces were to be much strengthened - and Labour is proposing to "reduce the proportion of the nation's resources devoted to defence". So Mr Healey's policy would depend upon the British allies believing that he did not really mean what he said.

## How politics sit beside disarmament

By Nicholas Timmins

Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for Defence, has returned to his attack on CND as an organization led and dominated by the left.

In real purpose, he suggests, is "the advance of the socialist and communist cause". At its most extreme that was "to argue the cause of the Soviet Union at the expense of the free societies of the West."

CND has reacted by dismissing the charges as a smear. Its executive decided against responding by compiling a list of council members' political affiliations. Such an act, it was felt, would be a distraction from the issues and would smack of McCarthyism, with Mr Heseltine trying to equate membership of the Labour Party with support for Soviet domination.

The executive, however, decided that members were free to discuss their own political affiliations, and from inquiries to individual council members and from published sources it is possible to give CND's political make-up.

Mr Heseltine listed 14 of the 26 nationally elected members of CND's council as left-wingers, "ranging through the Labour Party to the

### CND council

Officers*	8
Ordinary members*	20
Regional representatives†	73
Specialist sections††	8
Total	109

\*elected at annual conference; †elected and delegated from 16 regions; ††one each from Labour, SDP, Liberal, "green", youth, student, Christian and trade union circles.

Communist", and naming four others on the 107 strong council (see table) as Communist Party members.

His list contained several errors. Two Communist Party members, for example, are not on CND's council at all.

The literal meaning of Mr Heseltine's argument that the council's political affiliations are to the left is clearly true; CND opposes the Conservative Government's nuclear weapons policy, as do, to a greater or lesser extent, all the other main parties.

There are no Conservative Party members on CND's council.

On the 26 nationally elected officers and members of the council, 14 belong to the Labour Party. These include Mrs Joan Ruddock, CND's chairman, Professor Michael Pentz and Mr Roger Spiller,

two of the four vice-chairmen, and Mr Mick Elliott, the treasurer. Of the other 12, one belongs to the Communist Party, two to the Ecology Party and the remainder to no party, although two describe themselves as socialists.

Among the 73 regional representatives there is a wider spread. A survey around the Wales, West and East Anglia regions produces six Labour Party members, one Communist two Plaid Cymru, one Liberal and five who are not party members.

CND's council, which meets quarterly, elects from its ranks an executive of 24 which meets monthly, of which the six officers are ex-officio members. Currently only 23 strong, it comprises 10 Labour Party members, nine who belong to no party, with influences ranging from socialist to feminist, "green" and Christian, one Liberal and three Communist Party members.

CND denies both that this adds up to Mr Heseltine's "conspiracy of the left", much less to support for the Soviet cause. Council members stress that they are CND - first, anything else second, and that such concentration on political affiliation ignores a range of other influences. The council

includes, for example people from the Roman Catholic, Methodist and Quaker traditions.

In 1977, when CND's membership was down to 3,000, both the chairman, Mr John Cox, who is now a vice-president, and the general secretary, Mr Duncan Rees, who is now on the staff and in the Labour Party, were Communist Party members.

Altogether there are more than a dozen past and present Communists among the 144 people who make up CND's council, staff and vice-presidents. Some, such as Mr Will Howard, who left the party a few months ago, or Mr Paul Neecholls, Mr Ian Davidson and Dr Alan Mackinnon, who are on the executives and current party members, are in positions of influence on CND's committees and day to day management.

CND's national council acting on conference resolutions, can lay down policy and tactics, but it is up to the hundreds of CND local groups to carry them out. As one executive member said last week: "We can pass resolutions until we are blue in the face, but if local groups do not want to carry them out there is nothing we can do about it."

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Mr Michael Foot and Mr James Mortimer at a Labour Party press conference in London yesterday. (Photograph: Bill Warhurst).

## BROADCASTING

### Clash over job figures

By Barbara Day

The Government had neither lied nor suppressed the truth about the "think tank" report on youth unemployment, Mr Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment, said yesterday.

Speaking on BBC Radio 4's *The World At One* programme, he said: "The report quoted some publically known employment forecasts from outside organizations. Of course the think tank pointed out that there were difficult times ahead for young school leavers and that is why the Cabinet decided to launch the Youth Training Scheme."

If Mr Denis Healey, deputy Labour leader, claimed the

Government had been trying to massage the figures, why had the Labour Party welcomed and voted for the scheme in Parliament, he asked. "Mr Healey is becoming more and more hysterical as the campaign goes on and he sees himself staring at the largest defeat the Labour Party has had since 1935."

Interviewed on the same programme, Mr Peter Shore, Labour's chief spokesman on Treasury and economic affairs, said: "If this report is correct, clearly the think tank was already in 1981 putting to Mrs Thatcher the urgent need to ease and massage unemployment, rising to three million, which they accurately forecast, in 1983."

The think tank's message to the Government had been a forecast of three million unemployed.

Mrs Shirley Williams, president of the Social Democratic Party, said: "There is no doubt the Government has been doing its very best to use schemes to massage the unemployment figures. The main motivation of many of its schemes, in particular the Community Programme and aspects of the Youth Training Scheme, are directed towards one thing and one thing only and that is to get the unemployment statistics down for this election."



# 10,000 mourners follow Solidarity banner to police victim's funeral

Warsaw (AP/Reuters) Some 10,000 people attended the funeral here yesterday of Grzegorz Przemyski, aged 19, who died in hospital on May 14, two days after his family say he was savagely beaten up in a Warsaw police station.

Thousands of people carrying armfuls of flowers began to converge on St. Stanislas church in the Zoliborz district, north of here, before noon. Police cut off traffic around the area and posted radio vehicles at each crossroads near the Powazki cemetery.

The mourners, who walked over a mile to the cemetery, were headed by flag bearers carrying the Polish flag and the banner of the banned Solidarity trade union at half mast.

Mr Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, sent a telegram to the dead man's mother. "Every death is painful, but this brutal death is especially dramatic," he said. "I assure you that this victim will not be forgotten."

Mrs Barbara Sadowska, the mother, who is a Solidarity supporter and a poet, says she herself was beaten on May 3 when unidentified men broke into a Catholic relief centre in Warsaw.

The police have said Mr Przemyski was already injured when he was arrested last Thursday for drunken hawking after a celebration. He was discharged from a first aid centre but later admitted to a hospital where, despite surgery,

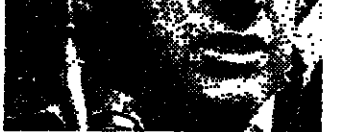
he died on Saturday of injuries to the liver and spleen.

The city prosecutor is investigating and an official verdict has been promised on the cause and circumstances of his death.

One of the most radical of Solidarity's underground leaders, Mr Zbigniew Bujak, has signed a typewritten bulletin, circulated on Wednesday night, describing Mr Przemyski's death as a "bestial murder".

Wajda returns: Poland's best-known film director, Andrzej Wajda, returned from the West to Poland yesterday after his sacking as head of a state film studio this month, Reuters reports.

Mr Wajda, who is 58, was one of several film industry figures dismissed in what was regarded as a campaign to purge the cultural community of



Andrzej Wajda: Returned home after sacking.

opponents and critics of the Communist establishment.

The authorities said he spent so much of his time abroad that he was unable to perform his duties as managing director of the "X" film unit, but he would be free to work as a film director in Poland.

He was greeted at Warsaw airport by several dozen well-wishers carrying banners that said: "We are with you" and "Welcome Master X".

ROME: Josef Glomp, the Polish Primate, is trying to arrange a meeting between the Pope and Mr Walesa during the Papal visit to Poland next month, Peter Nichols writes.

Before leaving here yesterday with other Polish bishops after talks with the Pope, Cardinal Glomp said: "Certainly it will be a complicated matter but it seems to me that it is taking shape. We hope to find a way that will satisfy both sides."

He added that at the end of this month Mr Achille Silvestrini, the Secretary of the Vatican's Council for Public Affairs, would go to Warsaw to agree the final details of the visit with the Polish authorities.

Cardinal Glomp said he believed that the Pope would be received with warmth, with prayer and with religious feeling.

In an otherwise crowded programme for his visit to his homeland, no official meetings are planned for the Pope on his last day in Poland, June 23.

## Japanese film wins top Cannes award

By Our Foreign Staff

The Golden Palm, the top prize of the Cannes film festival, was awarded yesterday to Shohhei Imamura's *The Ballad of Narayama*, a film depicting life in a poor Japanese village in the nineteenth century.

It is the heart-rending story of an elderly woman played by Sumiko Sakamoto, who obeys the tradition of her village by killing off the useless mouths and goes off to the mountains to die.

The announcement of the award, made by William Styron, the American writer and president of the jury, was greeted by cheers at a press conference in Cannes.

The jury's special grand prize went to a British entry, Monty Python's comedy *The Meaning of Life*.

Mr Styron also announced that instead of the traditional director's prize, the jury was awarding a grand prize of creative cinema to both Robert Bresson, the French director, for *L'Argent*, and to Andrei Tarkovsky, the Russian director, for *Nostalgie*.

*L'Argent* is a moral tale about a young man wrongly convicted of using counterfeit money and a spiral of events that lead to him killing a whole family.

Tarkovsky's search for his Russian roots is far from his native land. Both these films were well received by the press but less so by the public.

M. Bresson, generally considered one of the great French film-makers, said in Cannes this week: "If I don't receive the Golden Palm, I don't want any award." Hearing of this Mr Tarkovsky remarked: "I too will only accept the Golden Palm."

The jury prize was awarded to Miral Sen, an Indian director for his film *The Case is Closed*.

The prize for the best



Golden moment: Sumiko Sakamoto, the leading actress in the prize-winning Japanese film 'The Ballad of Narayama', after the presentation of the top Cannes award.

artistic contribution went to Carlos Saura the Spanish director, for his operatic *Carmen*.

The Best Actress award went to Hanna Schygalla of West Germany for her role in the Italian film *Story of Piera* by Marco Ferreri, in which she portrays a woman trying to lead an independent life in a small Italian town.

The award for best actor was voted unanimously to Gian Maria Volonté of Italy for his role as a television

journalist in the Swiss film *The Death of Mario Ricci* by Claude Goretta.

The award for the best short film went to I Know I'm Wrong by France's Pierre Levy.

It was the first time that Mr Imamura, aged 57, had presented an official entry at Cannes. The Golden Palm Award can mean a 15-40 per cent increase in box-office revenues in Western Europe.

Mr Imamura, a native of Tokyo, has directed 15 films

characterized by a baroque style and themes on contemporary sexuality. His other films include *Hogs and Warships*, *The Insect Woman*, *Unholy Desire*, *The Pornographer* and *Eijanaika*, which was shown here as a special, unofficial entry last year and became a considerable international success.

He told reporters that in making his latest film "I want to enlighten myself on the meaning of human life."

David Robinson, page 9

## Independent elected to Zimbabwe Senate

Harare (AFP) - Mr Brian Gubb, aged 52, a white independent, won the Senate seat previously held by Mr Paul Savage, of the Republican Front who was murdered by rebels as Easter.

He is a former president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Zimbabwe, and has urged the white community to cooperate with the Government.

Mr Gubb's election brings the number of independent white senators up to three in the 40-seat Senate. The Republican Front has seven.

## Car driven into Berlin Wall

Bonn - A heavily armed East German military construction group began repairing the Berlin Wall after a West Berliner committed suicide by driving his car at about 90mph straight into it, Michael Binyon writes.

The man, named only as Claude F, a tobaccoconist, was apparently anxious that his driving licence would be taken away because he had hit a parked car when drunk, according to the West Berlin police.

## Mob rule

Delhi (Reuters) - A crowd attacked the headquarters of Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) Party in Srinagar, capital of Jammu and Kashmir state, in northern India, setting it on fire and injuring at least 50 people.

## Soviet hint

Islamabad (Reuters) - Afghanistan is willing to set a timetable for the total withdrawal of Soviet troops provided it has guarantees against intervention from across its borders, Mr Vitaly Smirnov, the Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan, said in an interview published in *The Muslim*, an Islamabad daily.

## Hongkong job

Peking (Reuters) - China has appointed a new chief representative in Hongkong, Mr Xu Jiahun, until recently Communist Party chief in the eastern province of Jiangsu. He will have the title of head of the Hongkong bureau of the New China News Agency.

## Guerrilla clash

Bogotá (Reuters) - Nine people were killed in clashes between police and about 60 members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), who seized the gold mining town of Bagre, 400 miles north of the capital, according to police sources.

## Marcos warning

Manila (AP) - President Ferdinand Marcos warned opposition politicians against dealing with "subversive groups" and hinted that he might otherwise have to impose martial law again in the Philippines.

## Storm victims

Tuscaloosa, Alabama (AP) - Storms involving at least 25 tornadoes and up to 7 in of rain killed at least three people, and injured at least nine in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Missouri.

## Forest threat

Murrumbidgee, West Germany (Reuters) - If "acid rain" pollution continues at its present rate all fir and spruce trees in 50 areas of Baden Württemberg, including the Black Forest, will be dead by the 1990s, the state Agriculture and Forestry Ministry says.

## Taiwan mission

Chape Town (AP) - Mr Chiu Chang Huan, Taiwan's Deputy Prime Minister, arrived for a week's tour, to discuss trade and military cooperation.

## Taxi protest

Athens (AP) - About 15,000 taxi drivers began a two-day strike yesterday demanding tax reductions and lower fuel prices.

## Test tube 'first'

Singapore (Reuters) - Mrs Tan Siew Ee, aged 25, has given birth to South-East Asia's first test-tube baby at the government maternity hospital. The 6lb boy was delivered by forceps.

## Pot luck

Washington (AP) - Nine members of the Army's 200-strong White House guard company are being reassigned to other units after tests showed traces of marijuana, *The Washington Post* reported.

## Korea amnesty

Seoul (AP) - The South Korean Government announced an amnesty for 1,186 prisoners, 967 adults and 219 juveniles, to mark the 2,327th anniversary of the birth of the Buddha.

## Homecoming

Cairo (Reuters) - Private Abdel-Fattah Farghali, an Egyptian soldier who was declared dead in 1962 has come home after 21 years in captivity in North Yemen.

## Greenham women arrive in Moscow

From Richard Owen, Moscow

An advance party of "peace women" from Greenham Common arrived in Moscow yesterday in an attempt to talk to "ordinary Russians" about nuclear disarmament and "the Soviet and American threat to Europe".

If they are successful, a group of between 20 and 30 women peace campaigners will "extend the nuclear debate beyond the iron curtain".

The two women who arrived yesterday are from Dyfed in Wales, and are among the women who marched from Cardiff to the planned cruise missile base at Greenham Common in August 1981. They are accompanied by a Russian-speaking American student from Somerville College, Oxford, Miss Jean McCallister.

The campaigners, who wore the now conventional Greenham Common uniform of tee shirt, anorak and cropped hair, said they were "not naive people".

"If the Russians think we are merely anti-American then they have another thing coming," one woman said. "We know that the nuclear threat to Europe comes from both superpowers. But we also know there are reasonable people in Russia who want peace just as we do."

The women, who wore badges in Russian saying "Pacifists of the world unite" and "Women for life on earth", said people were unwilling to listen to the peace movement because they feared and mistrusted the Russians.

The group said they were well aware that independent peace campaigners in Russia had been suppressed, but they had been contacted. They would be talking to official Soviet peace organizations, but would not be "foisted off" with an organized tour.

As the aircraft prepared to land the women homed-in on the one Soviet official on board, and asked him for his views on peace. He said he had never heard of Greenham Common, but had spent a week in England and wished for world peace.

At the airport, immigration officials cast a quizzical eye over the "pacifists unite" badges, and waved the women's group through.

"Sure these people want an end to the arms race," said one. "The question is how to get that across to their government as well as ours."



Sergei Batovrin, a Soviet peace campaigner, arriving in Vienna yesterday.

## Left offers cure for recession

Paris (Reuters) - European Socialist leaders yesterday issued a left-wing plan for world recovery, throwing their weight behind President Mitterrand of France in his stance at the Western economic summit at Williamsburg on May 28.

In a 14-page document approved after a Paris meeting, the heads of government set out a plan to stimulate expansion and stabilize the world monetary system that closely echoed the doctrines of the Mitterrand administration.

M. Mitterrand has recently stepped up criticism of United States economic policies, accusing Washington of making the allies pay for its deficit, and demanding action for monetary stability.

M. Pierre Mauroy, the French Prime Minister, told a press conference that the Socialist blueprint was not intended as a mandate for M. Mitterrand at the summit, which is being attended by the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan and West Germany.

But Mr Olof Palme, Sweden's Prime Minister, said: "I hope we have strengthened his hand." He said there was a consensus across the world that Williamsburg should give a signal for growth, but there was a danger that the Western leaders would not agree on this.

The Paris meeting was also attended by Mr Kalevi Sorsa, Finland's Prime Minister, Mr Andreas Papanandrou, the Greek Prime Minister, and the Portuguese Socialist leader, Dr Mario Soares, who is expected to head a new coalition government after elections last month.

Señor Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish Prime Minister, who is a member of the informal European Socialist government grouping, was represented by officials.

In a joint statement summarizing their views, the leaders said the present crisis was the worst since 1945 and called on governments to "refuse the false dilemma of inflation versus unemployment".

It urged concerted management of demand in order to sustain recovery and less restrictive economic policies in order to raise growth rates. It said a cut in the US budget deficit and associated high interest rates was an indispensable condition.

It also proposed measures to launch new industries, stabilize unemployment, and transfer resources to the Third World, as well as endorsing M. Mitterrand's call for a new international conference to fix an exchange system.

## Soviet trade gap irks Whitehall

By Henry Stanhope, Diplomatic Correspondent

Britain has made clear to the Soviet Union its disappointment over last year's trade gap between the two countries, which saw Britain go into the red by £291m.

Petroleum used for blending with North Sea oil accounted for nearly two-thirds of a £647m import bill from the Soviet Union.

But a 14 per cent slump in British exports is being held mainly responsible for the reverse after two years of relatively even balance.

Disappointment in Whitehall is all the keener because a number of other Western countries, including Italy, Japan, West Germany and the United States managed to increase their share of the Russian market.

The chief reason for the poor British performance is thought to be the high sterling exchange rate in 1979-80, the effects of which have been working through the system.

Officials are now hoping that the lower exchange rate since then will bring about a reverse effect during the next few years.

But they also tried to persuade the Russians to buy more British goods, at the two-day annual meeting of the British-Soviet Joint Commission, at Lancaster House, which ended last night.

The 20 or so Soviet delegates, who included representatives of foreign trade organizations, did not dispute the imbalance of trade, while stopping short of any pledge to do anything about it.

They did however sign four "modest" contracts with British companies, each worth several million pounds, involving pumps, copying machines and machinery.

The two sides, with the Department of Trade leading the British team, also set up two working parties to help to increase trade between them. One will concentrate on machinery and the other on agriculture and food processing.

## West Bank expulsions sought

From Christopher Walker, Jerusalem

A bitter controversy has arisen over reports that the two most senior Israeli officers responsible for overseeing the military occupation of the West Bank have advised the Government to introduce tough new security measures, including the right to deport Arab demonstrators.

The demand for the new guidelines was made in a private memorandum to Mr Moshe Arens, the Defence Minister, by Lieutenant-General Moshe Levy, the new Chief of Staff, and Major-General Uri Orr, the head of Central Command, whose region includes the area captured from Jordan in 1967.

It is understood that the two generals also recommended that troublemakers not deported should be given what were described as "deterrent sentences", since intelligence reports indicated that their military court fines were paid by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Yesterday Mr Uri Avnery,

one of Israel's leading doves and chairman of the left-wing Shei Party, sent a telegram to Mr Arens calling on him to reject the advice of the officers.

Mr Avnery recalled acridly that the British mandatory government had failed when it tried to suppress "the Jewish struggle for independence" by deporting its leaders.

Mr Avnery emphasized that by banishing West Bank leaders in the past, the Israeli Government had "turned" them into heroes. He also called on the Defence Minister to permit the Arab population in the occupied area to organize politically as an alternative to violence.

The call for tougher powers for the occupying forces followed closely on the publication of disturbing new statistics for the year ending on March 31, which showed that terrorist attacks in the West Bank had risen by 69 per cent over the previous 12 months and street disturbances by 79 per cent.

● BEIRUT: About 30 Palestinian civilians have been murdered in southern Lebanon by unidentified armed men since the end of January, a United Nations refugee official said here yesterday, Reuters reports.

Hundreds more had left their homes to seek refuge in camps run by the UN Relief and Works Agency which has responsibility for about 250,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Mr John DeRafles, local head of UNRWA, said at a press conference.

● TRIPOLI: Libya is calling on the Arab League to boycott Lebanon for what it calls "capitulation and humiliation" in the Lebanese troop withdrawal agreement with Israel.

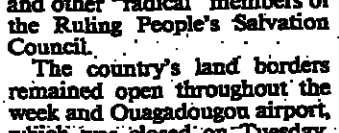
Libya's Jana news agency said yesterday that Tripoli was calling for measures similar to the boycott of Egypt that followed the 1979 Camp David peace accords with Israel.

Seventeen Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization broke off diplomatic relations with Egypt after it signed the peace treaty with Israel.

## Upper Volta tells Libya envoy to go

Ouagadougou (AFP) - Libya's Charge d'Affaires has been given 48 hours to leave Upper Volta, official sources said yesterday. Life is said to be returning to normal after the arrest of Captain Thomas Sankara, the Prime Minister, and other "radical" members of the Ruling People's Salvation Council.

The country's land borders remained open throughout the week and Ouagadougou airport, which was closed on Tuesday, reopened to international traffic on Wednesday.



Earlier this week, the Government-owned *New Nigerian* newspaper reported a Nigerian counter-offensive to retake an island in Lake Chad occupied by Chadian troops.

Yesterday, the *National Concord* newspaper said Chadian forces had resumed attacks intending to annex some villages on the Nigerian side of the border. It alleged that French mercenaries were fighting on the Chadian side but gave no source for its information.

It quoted official sources as saying that Chadian forces had

## Nigeria and Chad fight for lake island

Lagos (Reuters) - More than 400 troops have been killed or wounded in renewed fighting between Nigerian and Chadian forces in the Lake Chad area, according to a Nigerian newspaper report here.

There has been no official confirmation of border clashes since early this month, when the Defence Ministry confirmed that several Nigerian soldiers were killed in clashes last month.

Earlier this week, the Government-owned *New Nigerian* newspaper reported a Nigerian counter-offensive to retake an island in Lake Chad occupied by Chadian troops.

Yesterday, the *National Concord* newspaper said Chadian forces had resumed attacks intending to annex some villages on the Nigerian side of the border. It alleged that French mercenaries were fighting on the Chadian side but gave no source for its information.

It quoted official sources as saying that Chadian forces had

lost 300 men and the casualty ratio was three to one in Nigeria's favour.

Diplomatic sources here said they had reliable reports that Nigerian troops were attempting to retake lost ground among the sand banks and small islands of Lake Chad, so far unsuccessfully. They said it was possible that the Nigerian newspaper reports had exaggerated the scale of the fighting.

● A group of about 50 Nigerians from the coastal state of Bendel who are studying in Britain have been left destitute by the state Education Ministry, David Cross writes.

A spokesman for the group, which arrived in Britain three years ago, said yesterday that the final instalment of their three-year scholarship had not been paid in spite of repeated pleas. Several of their number had been thrown out of their British colleges for non-payment of fees.

OAU summit hope, page 8

## UN supports Contadora group on Nicaragua

From Zoltana Pysarivsky, New York

The United Nations Security Council yesterday unanimously bestowed international recognition and moral support to the Contadora group of four Latin American countries seeking to bring a negotiated peace to Central America.

But it was a resolution, at the behest of the United States, roundly innocuous, which neither the two antagonists, the Americans nor the Nicaraguans, could find great comfort in. The role of Señor Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary General, which Nicaragua had hoped to create as the focus of negotiations to the conflict was virtually brushed out of the resolution.

Nevertheless, Nicaragua succeeded in bringing the Reagan Administration once again to infamy in the eyes of the international community for its reported efforts to destabilize the Sandinista Government, and won a symbolic battle by prompting the Council to record that Nicaragua indeed has a case.

For its part, the US proved it retains tremendous diplomatic strength in Latin America and that it is not about to relinquish its power for the sake of heading off Nicaragua's request for bilateral negotiations. Nicaragua had wanted the Council to strengthen its hand in trying to get such discussions.

## French doctors threaten to strike again

From Diana Geddes

Just over a fortnight after the end of the longest hospital strike in French history, junior doctors and senior registrars in teaching hospitals threatened yesterday to go on strike again from June 1 unless the Government provides firm assurances that its earlier undertakings on the autonomy of medical faculties and doctors' contracts will be respected.

It was undertakings given by M. Pierre Mauroy, the Prime Minister, on May 3 that led doctors to call off the strike action they had begun on March 22.

Road haulage companies also gave warning yesterday of "tough action, beside which the action of students and farmers will look like child's play", unless the Government gave a satisfactory reply to their demands by June 2. They are

unhappy about new government regulations for road haulage, higher petrol costs, and price controls.

The protest by students and farmers throughout the country is continuing. In Brittany, some 200 poultry farmers released 15,000 chickens and attacked the local police headquarters in Morlaix with eggs and stones, breaking several windows.

In Perpignan, farmers attacked warehouses of a fruit and vegetable importer on Wednesday night, destroying 300 tons of Moroccan tomatoes, while in Montpellier, seven lorry loads of Spanish fruit and vegetables were destroyed. Police did not attempt to intervene.

Both M. Michel Rocard, the Agriculture Minister, and M. André Chadenet, junior Minister for European Affairs, have denounced the farmers' violent attacks on foreign

goods, while expressing sympathy for their demands for the abolition of the EEC monetary compensatory amounts, and a halt to the importation of agricultural produce of which there was already a surplus in France.

The police seem much less reticent about intervening in student demonstrations, and there were again violent clashes on Wednesday night and early yesterday in Bordeaux and Lyons, with police attempting to break up student demonstrations, using batons, teargas, percussion grenades, and water cannons.

The students retaliated from behind their barricades with a hail of stones. Several students and police were injured.

More violence was expected in Montpellier last night, where some 800 medical students had erected barricades of barbed wire, old cars, tyres and paving

stones in front of the medical faculty. Riot police were standing by, but had not intervened by late afternoon.

The previous day, employees of the local tax offices had marched to the Montpellier police headquarters to protest against "acts of violence and vandalism" by students, who had forced their way into the offices, hurled cabinets to the floor, and thrown files out of the window, injuring two employees.

In Paris and most other parts of the country, the cold, rainy weather seems to have dampened the students' appetite for protest, but more demonstrations are promised over the next few days, leading up to the mass demonstrations planned for next Tuesday, when Parliament is due to give a first reading to the Government's highly-contested Bill to reform higher education.



## Stern journalists halt sit-in after new editor gives up post

Stern journalists called off their symbolic occupation of the magazine's headquarters yesterday and seemed ready to make peace with the management after it had asked Herr Johannes Gross, one of the two new editors appointed last week, not to take up his job. Herr Gross' acceded to the request on Wednesday evening with evident bitter disappointment.

A spokesman for the editorial staff said, however, that they had not dropped their demands that Herr Henri Nannen, the founder and editor-in-chief of Stern, together with Herr Gerd Schulte-Hillen, chairman of the publishing company Gruner and Jahr, should resign because of their involvement in the Hitler diaries fiasco.

The 200 journalist held more meetings yesterday to discuss the terms of the compromise worked out after day-long

From Michael Binyon, Bonn

negotiations on Wednesday. This confirmed the appointment of Herr Peter Scholl-Latour, the other new editor appointed by the board, and specified that Stern would continue to represent a left-liberal political line.

Herr Gross, editor of the successful Gruner and Jahr business magazine Capital, flatly rejected accusations that as editor of Stern he would have pursued a more right-wing political line. At the same time he did not hide his "regret and disappointment" that he had been asked to step down.

He said in a statement that the board had asked him to consider the widespread opposition to his nomination and consequent harm this might cause to all the magazines in the Gruner and Jahr group.

The compromise agreement lays down that Stern would do its best to expose the back-

ground to the disastrous purchase of the Hitler diaries forgeries.

In this week's issue, which went on sale yesterday, Stern reported on the dubious circumstances surrounding Herr Konrad Kujau, the man who sold Stern the diaries.

It referred to the bizarre way in which packets containing the forgeries were thrown through the window of the Mercedes of Herr Gerd Heidemann, the Stern reporter, from an unknown East German car while both were speeding round a corner side by side in East Germany.

Stern also described the sequence of events leading to the exposure of the forgeries, noting, self-critically, that when the announcement was made by the Bonn Government "laughter broke out throughout the world, and in Stern there was chaos".

## Romania may lift emigration tax

From Moheta Ali, Washington

Romania is seriously considering lifting its controversial tax on potential emigrants and thus avoiding losing its "most favoured nation" trade benefits with the US, informed sources said here yesterday.

Mr Stefan Andrei, Romanian Foreign Minister, held talks

with the Reagan Administration this week on the controversial "education tax". These discussions were described as "positive" by the State Department spokesman.

The tax officially is repayment to the state of the cost of an emigrant's higher education. It ranges from about \$3,700

(£2,460) for the Romanian equivalent of two years of high school to about \$40,000 for those who have advanced degrees.

The loss of this status could cost Romania an estimated \$200m in trade in the first year, according to American officials.



Diplomat expelled: Mr Victor Barryshev, the Soviet Embassy commercial officer, who was ordered out of Thailand yesterday after being found with a document allegedly showing Thai troop and artillery placements along the Thai-Cambodian border. Mr Barryshev was held for eight hours after his arrest.

## Broadcasts shock Jews

## Race hate message from Dodge City

From Christopher Thomas, New York

The last time anything notable happened in Dodge City was courtesy of Bat Masterson and Wyatt Earp. The hot little frontier town, population 18,000, is in the news again, once more because of violence.

Twice a night the local country music station, KTTL-FM, broadcasts an unbelievable message of hatred and bigotry against blacks, Roman Catholics, Asians, public officials, the courts, tax authorities and - in particular - Jews. But because of America's obsession with the freedom to say almost anything about almost anybody, the nightly litany looks like containing unheeded.

Words are not minced. The station suggests that listeners should learn to garrote people in their sleep with lengths of rawhide, recommends the hanging of public officials, elimination of blacks and preparing for the coming "racial Armageddon".

The local community is shocked. It is a peaceful area with hardly any blacks and few Jews and the hysterical messages are a mystery. They are prepared by two men described as paramilitary evangelists, associated with a group called Fosse Comitates, which has reportedly conducted terrorist training sessions in Kansas and other areas of the country.

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas has demanded that the Federal Communications Commission should determine whether the station's "intimidating racist programming" breached the law.

The licence is up for renewal next month and several groups are uniting to oppose it. But it will not be easy to take it away because of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech.

The generally held view is that as long as the station avoids obscenities or any direct connection with an act of terrorism, it will be able to stay open.

There are precedents to support that view, such as when a Georgia politician broadcast messages in 1972 saying that a vote for him was "a vote against the niggers". Two radio stations initially refused the advertisements but were ordered by the Federal Communications Commission to use them.

The ruling stated: "However abhorrent some speeches might be there was in this case no evidence of a clear and present danger of imminent violence which might warrant interfering with speech which does not contain any direct incitement to violence."

The owners of the Dodge City station, meanwhile, are determined to continue their nightly "sermons".

## When a drop of blood turns white into black

New Orleans (Reuter) - A judge yesterday upheld a Louisiana law designating anyone with "1/32nd black blood" as black, ruling against a fair-skinned woman who wanted to be declared white.

Judge Frederick Ellis also said a rule requiring Louisiana to collect information on race at a child's birth was legal.

He decided that Mrs Susie Guillory Phipps, 49 who said she was shocked five years ago to learn that her birth certificate listed her as coloured, failed in a trial last September to prove that she was white.

She has testified that she was raised as a white and twice married white men. She learnt of the classification on her

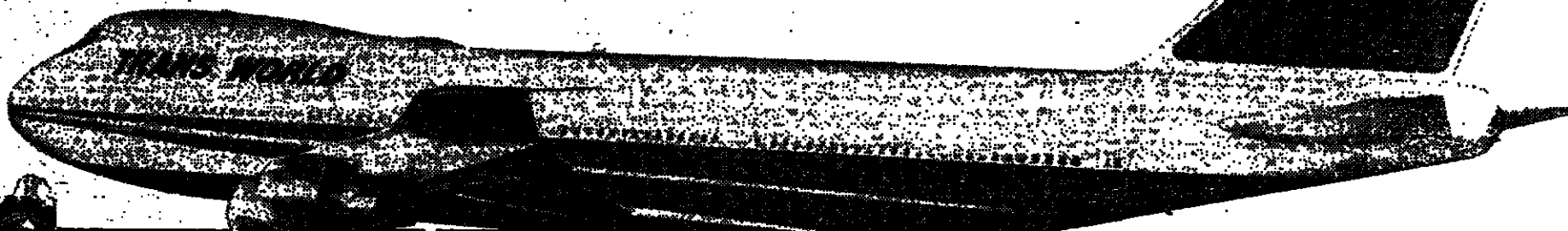
birth certificate only when she requested a copy to apply for a passport.

Louisiana refused to change her birth certificate and she began an action, claiming racial discrimination was inherent in the state's birth certificate laws.

Mrs Phipps could not be reached yesterday for comment, but her lawyer said he was stunned and would appeal.

The judge gave one reason for not declaring the 1/32nd law unconstitutional: the Louisiana Supreme Court ruled it was constitutional in 1974. "I'm just a little ole district judge, and I can't overrule the Supreme Court," he said after his judgment was delivered.

# TWA to the USA this summer at less than last year.



## Bonn ends Aeroflot privileges

From Michael Bailey, Cologne

Russia and West Germany are exchanging notes over the rights of their national airlines to fly over and sell tickets in each other's country.

Aeroflot has complete freedom to sell tickets in West Germany and uses it as a successful black market offering flights to various parts of the world at up to 50 per cent below the official price, the Germans say.

But when Lufthansa wanted to sell tickets in Moscow, mainly to Western residents, and was the only Western airline to try to do so, it was told it was against the Soviet constitution.

Similarly Aeroflot flies over West Germany 70 to 80 times a week, but Lufthansa is allowed only one flight a week over Siberia to Japan. Requests for more have been refused.

Talks between the two airlines have been going on for five years without success. The Bonn Government has now told Moscow it has ended the bilateral aviation agreement, which means Aeroflot could lose its German privileges from next year.

Lufthansa's profits increased to DM45m (£11.8m) last year and more than DM100m is expected this year. Herr Heinz Ruhnau, Lufthansa chairman, has given a warning against too optimistic a view of the current airline recovery.

## Brazil lets planes go to Libya

From Patrick Knight, São Paulo

The impasse which has held four Libyan aircraft grounded in Brazil for more than a month after it was discovered they were carrying arms for Nicaragua and not medical supplies as stated, has now been resolved. Brazil has finally agreed that the arms can return to Libya in the aircraft which brought them.

This has hitherto been strongly opposed by the Air Force, which has very close links with the United States. But the view of the Foreign Ministry, equally concerned with the maintenance of links with the Third World, has finally prevailed.

The arms are now at Rio de Janeiro, where escort jets can ensure that the aircraft do in fact return to Africa and not head north to Nicaragua, as might have been possible from Recife or Manaus, where they have been grounded.

There has been great concern that the incident might endanger Brazilian arms sales to Libya, the main customer for armoured cars, bombs and rockets.

With an order for 100 trainer aircraft worth \$100m now at risk Colonel Muammar Sadat, the Libyan leader, has blown hot and cold on the issue, initially saying he had not known about the arms, but later accusing Brazil of being subservient to the United States.

## Eight nations accused of press restrictions

Amsterdam (AFP) - The governments of eight nations - Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Turkey, Kenya, South Africa and Morocco - have come under attack by the International Press Institute (IPI) for curbing press freedom.

In a resolution adopted on Wednesday at the thirty-second general assembly of the IPI, an organization which has 1,800 members from 64 countries, journalists denounced the military governments of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

In those countries, they said, emergency and national security laws were maintained "in blatant contradiction to stated plans to restore political democracy".

In those three countries alone, the IPI said, seven magazines have been closed or suspended in recent months and journalists forced to undergo police interrogation. Some are imprisoned, while judicial proceedings have begun against others, it said.

The IPI also expressed great concern with the situation of

the media in Nicaragua. It called on the leftist Sandinista Government to cease press censorship and denounced "methods of economic harassment" used to deal with dissenting opinion.

The IPI condemned recent sentences against two Turkish journalists and accused Turkey's military rulers of violating guarantees for freedom of the press following a national referendum on the constitution last November.

On South Africa, the IPI attacked the "continued harassment and persecution of journalists" and singled out the case of Joe Tshabe, a journalist imprisoned on charges of possessing banned literature, and the forthcoming trial of Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, and his wife.

The organization also criticized the Kenyan Government's refusal to allow George Githii, a leading editor and former IPI vice-chairman, to attend the IPI general assembly here.

<p><b>New York</b> <b>£329</b> APEX return <b>£56 less</b> than last summer</p>	<p><b>Boston</b> <b>£319</b> APEX return <b>£47 less</b> than last summer</p>	<p><b>Chicago</b> <b>£366</b> APEX return <b>£134 less</b> than last summer</p>
<p><b>Los Angeles</b> <b>£449</b> APEX return <b>£85 less</b> than last summer</p>	<p><b>San Francisco</b> <b>£449</b> APEX return <b>£85 less</b> than last summer</p>	<p><b>Free car with new Gatwick flight</b></p>

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## MPs back Botha's race proposals despite attacks from left and right

The South African Government's controversial Constitution Bill came a step closer to implementation on Wednesday night, when it was approved by 129 votes to 40 at the end of the Second Reading debate in the House of Assembly in Cape Town.

Both the far-right Conservative Party, which broke away from the ruling National Party last year, and the liberal Progressive Federal Party voted against the Bill. The small New Republic Party, the residue of the conservative wing of the old United Party of General Jan Smuts, voted with the Government.

The Bill will now be referred to an all-party select committee, which could sit for weeks, or even months, possibly prolonging the parliamentary session beyond the end of June, when it normally terminates, into July or even August.

During the select committee stage, the Government will consider amendments to the details of the Bill, but not to its basic principles. The Bill then goes to the committee stage of the whole House, at which individual MPs can propose changes, before being submitted to the formality of a Third Reading.

That will not be the end of the story, however. The Government has pledged that before the Bill is signed into law and promulgated by the State President, it must be endorsed by a majority of voters on a whites-only referendum, the outcome of which could be much closer than the National-

From Michael Hornsby, Johannesburg

ists' huge majority in Parliament might suggest.

No date has been set for this plebiscite. Nor has the Government said unequivocally that similar positive proof of Coloured (mixed-race) and Indian support for the Bill will be required before it becomes law, though some Coloured and Indian leaders claim to have obtained such an assurance from Mr P. W. Botha, the Prime Minister.

As it stands, the Bill would provide for the creation of a tri-cameral parliament for Whites, Indians and Coloureds, elected on segregated rolls and subject to the overriding veto of an executive president. The president would be chosen by an electoral college dominated by members of the majority party in the white chamber.

During the debate, the Bill was assailed from both sides as "a witches' brew", "mad", "deformed", and "illegitimate".

The Conservative Party concentrated its fire on what it saw as the injection of the bacillus of racial integration into the South African body politic. The Progressive Federal Party, by contrast, denounced the Bill as a fraud, arguing that it would further entrench the Government's power behind a multi-racial facade.

The exclusion of blacks, who form three quarters of the population, from the new parliamentary structure was an irredeemable flaw, the PFP said. At one point, Opposition taunts about the inevitability of black majority rule, induced a memorable outburst from Mr Owen

Horwood, the Minister of Finance.

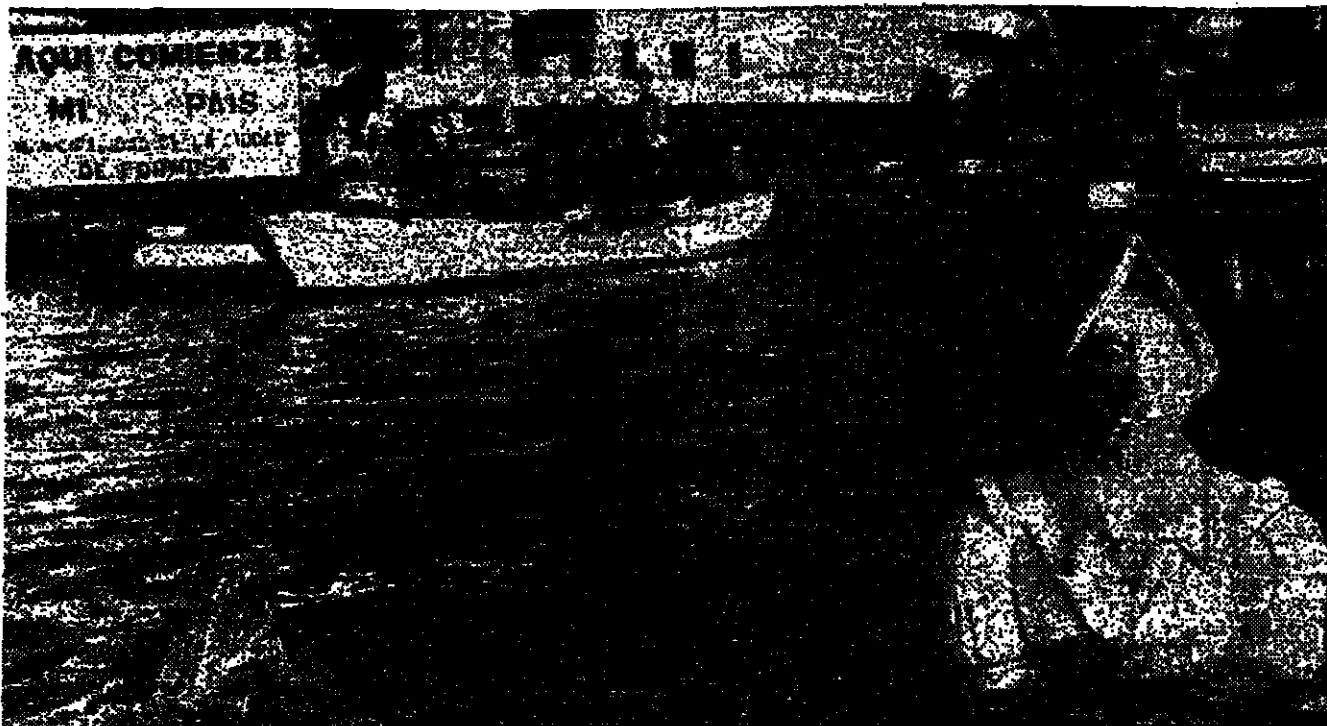
"At this moment, it (black rule) cannot be done. For a long, long time, it will not be possible to do it. It cannot be done in any time, not in the honourable members' time, not in our grandchildren's time."

This, PFP members were quick to point out with some relish, sounded uncommonly like Mr Ian Smith's notorious pledge that black rule would not happen in Rhodesia in 1,000 years. Mr Smith is related to Mr Horwood through marriage to his wife's sister.

**FRAUD SENTENCE:** John Rees, a former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, was yesterday sentenced to an effective 10 years in prison, suspended for five years, and fined 30,000 rands (about £16,700) after being found guilty on Wednesday on 29 counts of fraud involving 296,000 rands.

The leniency of the sentence, given the amount of money at issue, was attributed by Mr Justice Goldstone to what he called the "unusual, if not bizarre" features of the case. He agreed with the defence that no purpose would have been served in sending Rees to jail.

The judge said the council had put an unfair burden of responsibility on Rees, a prominent and widely-respected Methodist layman in his mid-forties, by placing millions of rands controlled by the organization in his care. No evidence had been produced that he had misappropriated the funds for greed or selfish indulgence.



Up to his neck: More trouble for Argentina as the Paraguay river floods the town of Formosa and most of the north.

## Hopeful OAU tries again for summit pact

From Geoffrey Morrison, Rabat

Prospects for reviving the paralysed Organization of African Unity with a summit in Addis Ababa next month still appear very uncertain. Intense diplomatic lobbying underlines the continuing deep split between Africa's moderates and radicals.

Two attempts to hold last year's summit collapsed because of failure to achieve a quorum. The first time, a group of states boycotted the meeting because the Polisario guerrilla movement, which has been fighting Morocco for control of the Western Sahara, had been seated as a full OAU member.

On the second occasion, a wrangle about which delegation should represent Chad caused the failure.

Both of last year's abortive summits were to be held in Tripoli and many ministers said that the determination of the boycott by the moderates was partly due to the venue, which made Colonel Gaddafi, the controversial Libyan leader, the host and therefore chairman of the meeting.

The two debacles were seen by most African leaders - moderate and radical alike - as a humiliation for Africa, and since then strenuous efforts have been made by a committee of twelve states to prepare the ground for a summit which would actually take place.

The Addis Ababa summit is due to open on June 6, but though the OAU Secretariat says the physical preparations have been

completed to welcome Africa's leaders to the Ethiopian capital, where the organization was founded 20 years ago, it is by no means certain that the necessary two thirds of the membership will turn up.

Chad is less likely to cause a problem than the last time because any invitation has been sent to the government in Ndjamena, led by Mr Hissene Habré, who the boycotting moderates insist must be seated.

But the Western Sahara issue could still sabotage efforts to reconcile the continent because Polisio Front has said it is determined to attend this time. King Hassan of Morocco who regards the Western Sahara as Moroccan territory, will certainly not attend if Polisio

Front is seated at the conference table. Other moderates have already said they would also stay away.

The big question remains: Would sufficient moderates boycott the summit to deny it a quorum, or would some drop their objections now that the meeting will no longer be chaired by Colonel Gaddafi, who is the *bête noire* of many African moderate leaders?

In what looked like an attempt to rally the moderates, Mr Mohamed Bouczetta, the Moroccan Foreign Minister, spent last weekend delivering messages from King Hassan to the leaders of five moderate states - Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Cameroon.

## Chile angry over human rights charges

Santiago (Reuter) - Chile says it will lodge a "most energetic protest" with France in an angry reaction to charges by M Claude Cheysson, the French Foreign Minister, on Chilean human rights abuses.

A Chilean Foreign Ministry statement on Wednesday night said M Cheysson's remarks were an unacceptable intervention in Chile's internal affairs.

Chile reacted a day after M Cheysson recalled the French Ambassador, M Leon Bourvier, from Santiago for consultations. It is a diplomatic gesture to show displeasure at the handling of demonstrations against President Augusto Pinochet's right-wing government.

French radio had quoted M Cheysson as saying: "General Pinochet is a curse on his people".

More than 300 people were arrested after the violent demonstrations here last week, which were seen as the most serious anti-government protest in 10 years of military rule.

The Foreign Ministry statement said: "The Government of Chile regrets and rejects the damaging statements by the French Foreign Minister which constitute an unacceptable intervention in its internal affairs."

"These unsolicited and unfounded statements contrast with the norm permanently observed by the Government of Chile of maintaining the most absolute restraint with regard to what happens internally in other countries."

"Appropriate instructions have been given for the Chilean Ambassador in France immediately to make the most energetic protest."

## Odinga man may contest election in Kenya

From Charles Harrison, Nairobi

Excitement is mounting here as preparations for a general election in September - a year ahead of schedule - get under way after an unprecedented period of political turmoil.

President Moi called the election after claiming that a foreign power was grooming an unnamed Kenyan to take over the presidency, which brought widespread demands for the "traitor" to be named.

He named neither the alleged "traitor" nor the country backing him, but complained that a number of ministers and senior officials were disloyal. They would be dismissed and disciplined if they did not support him.

Politicians have said that no "traitor" must be allowed to stand for election, and Mr Robert Matano, secretary of the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), confirms that all

candidates must be cleared by the party leaders, a process that has been used before to bar prospective candidates.

Mr Achiong Onoko, who was Information Minister in the 1960s, and was detained in 1969, says he wants to stand for election in Nairobi.

He was a right-hand man of the former Vice-President, Mr Oginga Odinga, who has been under house arrest since last November.

Officials say no new restrictions have been placed on the movements of diplomats. They are already required to inform government officials before visiting areas outside Nairobi, but this does not apply to Commonwealth representatives, who do not have to do so unless they are carrying out official engagements in up-country areas.

## Civil guard major is jailed

From Richard Wigg, Madrid

A Civil Guard major yesterday began two months in custody for refusing to return to jail four captains in the force who took part in the 1981 coup attempt.

Major Luis Rodriguez, who is respected by his fellow officers, defied the orders of an army general at the Civil Guard headquarters. He is likely to be released at the end of the month during the Armed Services Day celebrations.

The four captains had their sentences for military rebellion increased last month by Spain's Supreme Court when seven civilian judges heard the coup plotters' appeals.

At the court martial the officers received one-year sentences which they had completed. Now they must serve what remains of an two-year term to which their punishment was increased.

The Spanish Army must carry out the judges' instructions but it is proceeding slowly. The officers with the highest sentences have still not been officially deprived of their ranks or decorations, or had these actions notified in the Army Gazette.

## Big win for Sri Lanka ruling party

From Our Correspondent, Colombo

President Junius Jayewardene's ruling United National Party won 14 of the 18 parliamentary by-elections and also took control of 34 out of 46 local authorities in results announced yesterday. Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Freedom Party won only three of the 14 parliamentary seats it contested. Among Freedom Party candidates who lost was Mr Vijaya Kumaranatne, a son-in-law of Mrs Bandaranaike, who was beaten by his UNP rival by only 45 votes.

As in the 1977 general election, all the Trotskyist and Communist candidates were defeated and all six candidates of the National Liberation Front, which staged the 1971 youth insurrection, were also beaten.

There were two shooting incidents resulting in deaths during Wednesday's polling. In the Tamil Northern Province soldiers are alleged to have gone on a rampage after a colleague was killed in a terrorist attack on a polling booth. In Colombo, a Freedom Party supporter was shot dead in the constituency in which contested by Mrs Bandaranaike's son-in-law was a candidate.

## Senate approves Bill to curb illegal aliens

Washington (NYT) - The Senate passed a comprehensive immigration Bill to outlaw the employment of illegal aliens and offer amnesty to more than 9 million people who are in the United States illegally.

The final vote was 76 to 18. The Senate passed a similar Bill last August but it died when the House of Representatives failed to act.

The Reagan Administration generally supports the legislation. The Bill is designed to curtail unlawful immigration by denying jobs to illegal aliens, which is presumed to be their main reason for coming to the U.S. The Bill now goes to the house, where similar legislation is awaiting a floor vote.

Senator Alan Simpson, said the legislation was needed because the first duty of a sovereign nation was to control its borders.

The Bill sets a scale of fines and prison terms for employers who knowingly employ illegal aliens. Employers would be required to ask job applicants for documents verifying they are either citizens or aliens with work permits.

In its report on the Bill, the Senate Judiciary committee emphasized it was not requiring or permitting the development of an internal passport or national identification card.

Senator Simpson said it was now legal for an employer to hire an illegal alien, but it was illegal for the illegal alien to work. His Bill was aimed at ending this anomaly, which was "an extraordinary departure from sanity".

Federal immigration and census officials estimate that up to two million illegal aliens might qualify for amnesty under the Bill.



Premier figure in a magnificent new suite of hand-painted portrait figurines in fine porcelain by the internationally acclaimed sculptor John Bromley.

Available for a limited time only, at the very attractive price of £48.

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Now, John Bromley, perhaps the pre-eminent portrait sculptor of porcelain today, has accepted the commission to create a new suite of portrait figures depicting the Great Queens of History. The first will portray the famous Queen of France, Marie Antoinette.

Seldom, if ever, has there been a better match of artist and subject. For it was Bromley who created the widely acclaimed portrait bust marking the Investiture of Prince Charles. And his work is in the private collections of The Queen Mother and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

In portraying Marie Antoinette, he has captured both her beauty and her vivacious spirit. Note the elegantly simple low-cut gown. The dainty accents of ruffe and ribbon. The regal fold upon fold of fabric. The graceful ostrich plumes on top of her powdered hair. All are visual evidence of John Bromley's enormous talent.

And because he is one of those especially gifted artists able to infuse form with a sense of action,

the sculpture has a lifelike quality rare in even the finest porcelain figurines.

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John Bromley's Marie Antoinette will be issued in limited edition. Because of worldwide interest, similar restricted offers will be made in other countries. A further opportunity to subscribe in the UK may be given, but cannot be guaranteed, before the worldwide close date of 31st December, 1983. Thus, the total edition will be limited to the exact number of individual subscribers who order from the suite by the worldwide subscription deadline. When all valid orders are filled, the edition will be permanently closed. The original moulds will then be destroyed, so the work can never be issued again. And a Certificate of Authenticity, attesting to its limited edition status, will be sent to each subscriber.

To acquire Bromley's Marie Antoinette - at just £48, which is itself payable in four convenient instalments, and is guaranteed excepting only a change in the rate of VAT - be sure to return your Reservation Form to Franklin Porcelain, by 30th June, 1983.

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# THE ARTS

## Cinema

### Making education an aesthetic experience

The Rise to Power of Louis XIV (U)  
ICA Cinema

Android (15)  
Warner West End,  
Studio Oxford Street,  
Screen on the Green

Honkytonk Man (15)  
Warner West End

"Remember, Fabrizio," the hero is advised in Bertolucci's early feature *Before the Revolution*, "one cannot live without Rossellini!" In Britain, at least, one has had to: the austere historical constructions which closed his career have never received much exposure. Rossellini remains in the public eye, the director of Italy's neo-realist masterpieces - *Rome, Open City* and *Paisa* - or the man who married Ingrid Bergman. Thanks to the ICA, the public eye can now be widened: *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, made for French television in 1966, is currently enjoying its first British commercial run (until Wednesday, May 25).

Seventeen years later, Rossellini's brand of screen history still seems startling, for he turns his back on all the tactics generally used to sweeten or slant the past. Events are never reshaped for narrative neatness, spectacular display or juicy historical details. The rising fortunes of Louis XIV - from the death of Cardinal Mazarin (1661) to the completion of Versailles some 20 years later - are described through a series of words, assembled by the scholar Philippe Erlanger from surviving documents.

They are spoken, moreover, in flat, undemonstrative tones; all the cast are non-professionals (though Jean-Marie Patis, as Louis, still manages a quiet, sly aura). Throughout, the camera observes rather than interprets, steadily weaving through ornate rooms with functional simplicity.

This very simplicity and sobriety may cause problems to the spectator of the 1980s. Most modern cinema sucks our eyes into a vortex of zooms, flashy editing and self-conscious pretensions. Rossellini gives us room to manoeuvre, to observe and analyse unhindered. Once the mental adjustment has been made, our eyes penetrate an astonishing amount of political and social history.

We watch the dying Mazarin maintaining appearances to the end by painting his cheeks with rouge; we watch Louis securing his grip by ordering the adoption of extravagant, expensive fashions. We watch his courtiers half-strangled in ribbons, laces and towering wigs, standing before him as he basks in absolute monarchy and picks at a 14-course meal. As we watch, we can foresee the future - the French Revolution.

Rossellini followed Louis XIV with portraits of Socrates, Christ, the Apostles and St Augustine. His aim was to breathe life into history, in the end he developed into a lecturer rather than a film-maker, and history turned into the walking dead. But in 1966, in *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, the miracle happened. Seventeenth century France is made tangible; knowledge is imparted with such clarity that education becomes an aesthetic experience.

*Android* is another cinematic wonder, a first feature of remarkable assurance by Aaron Lipstadt, one of



Left: Max 404 (Don Oppen) at the controls in "Android". Right: Güney's Paris recreation of a Turkish prison in "The Wall".



the many young talents nourished by Roger Corman at New World Productions. For a low-budget science-fiction film *Android* "manipulates its genre with distinctive wit and imagination; no other film has offered a robotized human as subtly characterized as Max 404 (brilliantly played by Don Oppen - also one of the scriptwriters).

Most screen androids are like Rutger Hauer in *Blade Runner* - cold, conniving, horrid. Max, however, endears himself by ambulating through his space station with the gangling walk and hesitant speech ("Gosh") derived - we eventually learn - from watching James Stewart in the film *It's a Wonderful Life*.

At first Max is alone with his harassed creator (Klaus Kinski), who is planning a race of industrial robots. Then three escaped criminals arrive in a hi-jacked spacecraft; the female, Maggie, particularly rouses Max's curiosity. Maggie reciprocates: "Max, You're a doll!" she says. Lipstadt and his colleagues effortlessly provide the science

fiction genre with its most glaring deficiency: a human face. For Max's ambivalent behaviour is not only comic; there is also something strangely affecting in his fascination with mankind, especially as the specimens he meets are poor advertisements.

As he neatly packs a suitcase to travel to Earth (contents include a solitary eyeball and a plastic packet of fingers) he seems like a boarding school child off for the holidays - and his halo of optimistic innocence hovers round the entire film.

The narrative is advanced with notable economy; Lipstadt makes the most imaginative use of the computer terminals and video screens, where Max learns about sex, rock and roll, and watches an apposite clip from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*. *Android*, in short, is delightful and clever enough to please even those generally averse to science-fiction.

Classic of Americana: a Depression farming family battles against a dust storm, their faces hard-bitten but resplendent. Enter Clint Eastwood, dead drunk in a car, and the classic of Americana fades away into a superficial tale of country musician Red Sivoli making a picaresque journey to Nashville with his young nephew.

The naivety of the exercise is almost alarming. Characters pronounce the film's themes without embroidery: "I'm going to live my own life on my own terms," says Red, withering away through tuberculosis; "It wasn't just the land, it was the dream," says Grandpa, reviewing his pioneer past. Comic reviewers with bulls, broths and backwoods garage mechanics seem equally bald. The film might have had more impetus if Eastwood had played Red as the passionate, magnetic rogue the part demands; instead, he is infuriatingly cool and considered. The end result is a curious two hours' worth: gauche, toothless, enjoyable only if the sights are set low.

Clint Eastwood's latest film *Honkytonk Man* at least marks an improvement upon its appalling predecessor *Firefox*. At the beginning it seems we might be watching a

## Cannes revisited, by Güney

Last year Cannes witnessed the first public appearance of Yilmaz Güney since his escape from the Turkish prison where he was serving cumulative sentences of more than forty years for crimes ranging from murder to poetry. Yöl, which like his previous four films he had directed by proxy, won the Grand Prix and went on to become a major international success.

This year Güney is back in Cannes, with *The Wall*, the first film he has directed in person since 1975. The film was largely financed by the French Ministry of Culture, which reflects somewhat on the state of official Franco-Turkish relations. It was shot just outside Paris at Pont Saint-Maxence, in an old abbey which Güney convincingly transformed into a Turkish prison. *The Wall* recreates the circumstances of a revolt in 1976 by children in Ankara prison against the conditions in which they were held. A manifesto written by Güney protesting against the subsequent brutality

to the children led to his own removal to the Kayseri prison. Güney's power has not been diminished by inactivity. The film is relentless; the spectator is made to share the children's own sense of suffocation. There is no sentiment or real trust in the forced camaraderie of the children, united only in hatred of their oppressors. There are no dreams of better times to come: only the daily fight for better food, for baths, for insecticides to rid themselves of vermin.

It is irrelevant to ask if the picture is truthful in detail, or if Turkish jails can really be so vile. Güney is dealing with universal issues: the inevitable tyrannies when ignorant men are given absolute authority over their kind; the moral degeneration that can spawn in such conditions; the vulnerability of the youngest to the worst of society's abuses. There are subtler film makers but none tougher.

David Robinson

## Television

### Much ado about nothing

Charlotte Cornwell (actress), Roy Battersby (director) and Barrie Keeffe (writer) paid for an interesting, little advertisement on the diary page of *The Standard* on Tuesday. Its tone was cross. Thames, it said, would be depriving Londoners of their new series *No Excuses* until late on Thursday, and was compounding this felony by repeating "an old programme" at the peak time when this "original" work was being shown to the rest of a grateful nation. The trio were also reported to be cross with the IBA, who had decreed that the episode two should go out at the unsocial hour of 10.30, on account of its offensive sexual content.

All this had a heady ring. Sexual and political censorship! Fascist tactics preserving the status quo! Summer is coming,

television's radical seminarists are casting about for causes to celebrate, and pat on cue the ITV moguls deliver the goods.

Those few viewers goaded by curiosity into staying awake till the supposedly shocking climax of episode two, in which a butler was decapitated, will not need me to point out how silly the IBA have been. They will also appreciate the wisdom of Thames's decision to continue their peak-time broadcasts of *The Elme Trees of Thika*: banal suburban escapism that may be, but it undeniably draws the crowd. Indeed, I hear on the grapevine that Thames are themselves quite cross: they would rather not clutter up their schedules with this "original" series at all.

*No Excuses* began life as a play called *Bastard Angel*, in which an ageing rock star

precipitated her own mid-life crisis by buying, and encouraging her friends to invade, a stately home at which she had been humiliated many years before. It made a grimy evening in the theatre, and it looks like making an infinitely grimmer sojourn on the box.

Miss Cornwell and her associates slummock about (or rather abbat), casually defiling their surroundings and intermittently bursting into "authentic" song, much aided by expensive camerawork. Mawkish speeches solicit our sympathy for their spiritual desolation. One or two good actors try to act, but to no avail. Eight precious drama slots and many hundreds of thousands of pounds follow them down the drain. Is there - was there ever - a producer in the house?

Michael Church

## Dance

Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet  
Covent Garden

A curious mixture Wednesday night's triple bill at Covent Garden: a semi-abstract work with a deeply serious theme, a dramatic shocker and a rather tired bon-bon, which except for its ancestry, might well have been abandoned years ago. Perhaps the intention was to display the range of the dancers of the Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet. Certainly they performed them all with a lively commitment.

David Bintley's *Night Moves* transfers well to the larger stage. The sense of restriction and enclosure above which the spirit of the artist soars is fully brought out in the choreog-

raphy, as well as in Terry Barlett's striking designs and I felt the extra space allowed the ballet to show to greater advantage.

Graham Lustig has assumed the role of the young man with the towel (or is it a flag with which he signals to the world outside?) and dances with spirit and precision. But then all the men appear to advantage, as in so many of Bintley's works. The women are not forgotten, though. Petal Millar finds wit and passion in a pseudo-Sadler's Wells. Susan Lucas is charming as a renaissance beauty and in the female lead, Sheryllyn Kennedy, attentively partnered by David Ashmore, has possibly her best role.

The filling in the sandwich was Kenneth MacMillan's *The Invitation*, now more than twenty years old and beginning

to show its age. It still provides meaty roles for the four leading characters, however, and for this alone is well worth preserving, although I cannot help wondering whether, were it not art, it might be described as kiddy porn.

Galina Samsova's sensitive portrayal of the Wife is instantly recognizable as a woman treated by her circle with a mixture of pity and contempt, and with cruel indifference by her husband. Roland Price as the Cousin, responds beautifully and his shy bravado compliments her sad tenderness. Desmond Kelly makes the Husband a real brute, from pomaded hair to his flashy ring; the kind of man who would borrow from the butler at the very least. Marion Tait plays the Girl with sincere intelligence, but seems at moments a shade too mannered.

*La Boutique Fantasque* only works if it is as fresh and bright as a new paintbox. This production seems to have several layers of heavy varnish obscuring both colour and detail: the dancers deserve better.

Judith Cruickshank

## Theatre

### Steer clear, if you lack a sick sense of humour

Crimes of the Heart  
Bush

Less pedestrian than one expects from a Pulitzer-winning play, Beth Henley's "baroque black comedy" turns out to be a very strange specimen indeed. Within the expected format of the well-made, three-act packed with first-hand observation of American characters (small-town Mississippi in this case), it douses a violent family drama with attempted farce or lines whose deadpan incongruity begs embarrassingly for a laugh.

Anyone lacking a sick sense of humour should steer clear, and those who have one (as I do) may find it is not of the right kind. Poppy Mitchell's primeval-bitch kitchen set down to its last pair of bird ornaments and the cheap gilt fruit-plates on the dresser, is both a prison and an image for spinster-sister Lenny (Brenda Blethyn), bustling onstage in flowered dress and cardigan to stick a candle on a chip cookie



Brenda Blethyn as the spinster-sister Lenny

in solitary celebration of her thirtieth birthday.

Worse than the death of her pet horse, struck by lightning, is the news that her baby-doll kid sister, married at 18 to a corrupt redneck Senator, has shot him in the stomach (they save his liver, we hear) after lusty sessions in the garage with a

black 15-year-old. ("I didn't know you were a liberal," says middle sister Meg). There is also the memory of Mamma, hanging herself and her old yellow cat after Poppy walked out, and Meg losing the local nice boy to a damned Yankee. Pity to reveal what the author teases out so much time over, but that does show the local flavour and evocative family detail that are the play's virtues.

Rarely, as when Meg threatens to give Grandpa a stroke with her revelations only to find he has had one, the black humour fits, and Simon Stokes's production moves confidently through this mine-field of moods.

Brenda Blethyn and Wendy Morgan do justice to the frustrated Lenny and the wretchedly married Babe choosing murder rather than her mother's suicide, and Janine Duvitski extends her great comic range as their self-righteous and bitchy cousin in cerise suit and matching underwear.

Since the August jury of festival groupies at Saturday's mock inquest found Antonio Salieri guilty after all, his insubstantial little three-movement symphony in D major ("Veneziana") was given a hearing among all the Mozart. Its beneficent phrases and affable accompanying figures were performed by the London Philharmonic with as much care and affection as if they had been written by Mozart himself.

Hilary Finch

## Concert

any of its frenzy or broader humanity. Neil Jenkins and John Hancock, celebrating brotherhood, Leben and Luft in their recitatives and arias, were flanked by a scrupulously-chorus equally lustily performed by the men of the Brighton Festival Chorus with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and Lazlo Heltay. The male voices provided, too, a strong inner core to a performance of Mozart's Mass in C minor, saved only by the reliability and professionalism of a chorus and orchestra thoroughly familiar with the work. They battle their way through the counter-productive highly-strung tempi and dynamic currents, provided by Mr Heltay. Teresa Cahill

LPO/Heltay  
St Bartholomew's  
Brighton

As the Brighton Festival burrows its way through the last year of Mozart's life, it came up with a comparative rarity on Wednesday night, the Masonic Cantata "Laut verkünde uns're Freude" which Mozart wrote for the "Newly-crowned hero" lodge in Vienna three weeks before his death.

It interrupted his work on the *Requiem*, but obviously proved not too much of a distraction, tagged as it is with neat little Masonic musical mottoes, sar-timonious with the cadences of the Flute, yet untempered by

openly as the circumstances of public performance permit.

Not only does Chaikin banish theatrical mystery with three fragile props - a door, a curtain, and a screen - but you are told precisely what they are made of, when they are going to be used, and how much longer the show is going on. I could not detect the promised ABA form, but a structured contrast does develop between the deceptions and secrets of private life, and those of history, religion, and global politics.

The curtain may part to reveal Beckett's Winnie telling herself comforting lies to get through another happy day; or Arkadina and Konstantin firing off brutal truths at each other, and then collapsing into sentimental tears. But, equally, it opens on a psalmic curse calling on God to obliterate the singers' enemies, while behind the screen there lurks a steinon-hatted Moloch representing the manipulative power of American capital.

Although Chaikin's actors, Roger Babb and Ronnie Gilbert, get no chance for sustained playing, they move in a beautifully fluent line between song, musically inflected speech, and the margins of comedy (as where Miss Gilbert recounts the plot of *Ghosts* as a piece of domestic gossip). At its best, the singing into the accompaniment of a droning Fifth) has the simplicity of a Shaker hymn.

Behind the whole event there is a weight of pent-up desolation; and it is the show's statement, as well as its failing, that there is so little up front.

Irving Wardle

the need to embark on spiritual journeys is one of the hazardous privileges of the creative director, who may emerge from the experience transformed or paralysed. Joseph Chaikin has evidently been engaged in such a quest since he dissolved the New York Open Theatre after its brilliantly self-confident early achievements. (*America Hurrah, The Serpent*), and vanished from the international circuit.

Chaikin appeared at Riverside as an actor two years ago, but *Trio* is his first production in this country since the farewell season of the Open Theatre in the early 1970s, and my impression is that the outcome of his journey is still in doubt.

Subtitled "Lies and Secrets", this collaborative piece tackles its theme through linked quotations, staging and music. It is the last element that arouses my doubts, for when the theatre invokes music, it is often a symptom of its loss of belief in words and action. When a playwright refers you to his use of counterpoint and sonata form, you can be sure, he has nothing to say.

*Trio* does have something to say, notwithstanding Harry Mann's solo saxophone riffs and radio analysis of ternary form. Its subtext is that the world is full of suffering and danger, and that there is probably nothing the theatre can do about it. However, here is some evidence of how we cheat and threaten each other, presented as honestly and

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## SPECTRUM

L is for Liza, for laughter (her most treasured possession) and for lovely (one of her favourite expressions). In Miss Minnelli's world, the painful past is pushed behind a curtain of positivism

# The only showgirl in town

By Duncan Fallowell

There is Liza in the corner of the flower-filled room, hunched over the telephone in an ice-pink trouser suit, chattering into the mouthpiece and covering her free ear with her free hand. The husband - tall, good looking producer-cum-sculptor Mark Gero - extends a welcoming arm before disappearing discreetly round a corner. He wears his hair long in that tailored Abba style favoured by hippies who've made it, but there's not quite enough of it to achieve the full Bucks Fizz. However the firmness of his shake suggests he would be prepared to combine the role of mate with that of bouncer and is no drip.

A PR man says, "Come and look at the view." This is the fourth floor of the Savoy Hotel, so the view is the wide stunning one across the Thames curving away in both directions. "The service isn't that great but the view makes up for it," says the PR man, then disappears round another corner.

Liza turns on legs that were once voted the best in the world but are now concealed in their ice-pink pipes. "Hi," she says with the famous, ever so kooky face. It is charming, tomboyish, and at the moment both pleasure and pain are twitching about it in it. The whole thing is just about held together by a smile. The smile is her anchor but the other features, especially the eyes, frequently express contrary emotions of their own.

"It's a beautiful view."

Liza is a highly suggestive woman. "It is a beautiful view, isn't it," she says, looking onto the view like a lamprey, as if she wanted to hug the view to death.

This is indeed the passionate schoolgirl, but it should be remembered that when in 1973 she won the Oscar for best actress (as Sally Bowles in *Cabaret*), it wasn't for nothing. All the same, she is highly emotional, terrifically warm, the very throbbing heart of show business.

Liza loves London and knows it well. She went to school here for a few weeks - she went to school everywhere for a few weeks - "but I already had a crush on this city from the Mary Poppins books". And she chose London for her second honeymoon. That was her 1974 marriage to producer-cum-Lothario Jack Haley Jr who was considerably older than she (Liza was born in 1946, in Hollywood). Sculptor-cum-producer Mark is her third husband and five years younger. Miss Minnelli has been associated with various men apart from her husbands: Alice Cooper, Desi Arnaz Jr, Peter Sellers, Charles Aznavour, somebody called Rex Kramer from Smackover, Arkansas, John Gorton who was Prime Minister of Australia -

"John Gorton? Can you believe that? Of course it wasn't true. It would have been so easy to sue. But I can never be bothered to sue. It takes too much time and effort and gets you upset." And click goes the lighter, up go several thick plumes of Marlboro smoke, as Liza sits back in the armchair, crosses

her legs, and momentarily takes up the position 'relaxed'.

"Why did they always want to believe the worst about you?"

"Do you know - I don't know." It doesn't occur to her that the worst is more fun. "Perhaps it was Sally Bowles rubbing off. Well, it's nice to be convincing, but really! Give me a break. I'm not that character. I'm quieter than her."

Her failure to develop a thick skin, despite life's torments, is the key to her appeal. She's uncertain and dizzy - and very capable.

"Do you have to be tough to be a star?"

She has a quick twitch and a double puff. "You have to be strong. There's a fine line between tough and strong. Because tough sounds vaguely nasty. And I find it difficult to be nasty."

As a girl one of her household duties, along with washing the pots or handing round the pistachios, was regularly salvaging her mother from pills and booze and razor blades in the bathroom. It was a sharp beginning and she early on developed techniques for keeping pain at bay. One is called 'wafting'.

"Ha, that word crept up on me somehow. Wafting, it's like the smoke from this cigarette, you just kinda... float away, dissolve... that's when things get really tense."

"So what makes you angry?"

"Oh... inanimate objects. If I can't open a bottle I'll get just furious with the corkscrew. Have you seen the new tops to those aspirin bottles they have now? They're so complicated that if you had a headache, by the time you get the thing open you've got a migraine!"

But Liza hates violence. Her favourite words are terrific, lovely, wonderful, preferably all at the same time. This doesn't mean that she isn't genuine, just that she's simple. Or tries to be. She clings to the idea of simplicity with the same vehemence with which she almost strangled the view from the window, and the results can be pretty complicated. So the mantra-like repetition of such words is a sort of linguistic conspiracy, designed to conceal behind a wavy muslin curtain all horrors.

"Have you ever tried to commit suicide?"

"Oh, God. No. Why?"

"People do from time to time."

"No, it's so... yukky. Ugh, no, horrid." She pushes it away with thin pale arms covered with fine black hairs, with small muscly hands with their uneven nails. The gesture is touching and brave, as a child sometimes is.

Liza would like life to be a big warm pool where everyone is swimming about being famous and well-off and, above all, terrifically friendly. She is determined to deny all negative quantities in personal encounters. She knows everybody and everybody's a friend. She prefers to be indiscriminate rather than cause offence.

Who is her favourite actress? Liza



Her smile holds the famously kooky face together, but Liza Minnelli's wide eyes sometimes tell a different story

lurches forward onto the edge of her seat, pink silk knees wide apart. "There's so many of them I admire now, it's just amazing. Barbra Streisand's terrific." Then, remembering that this is a British interview, she adds: "And Billie Whitelaw, I think she's wonderful. I mean, I like everybody, I really do." And she probably really does.

Who is her favourite director? "Oh, God, there are so many good ones, I wouldn't know where to start. Have you seen *Tender Mercies*? Bruce Beresford. What a movie!"

Who is the most exciting actor she's ever worked with? "Robert de Niro in *New York New York*. He's just..."

Terrific?

"... consummate." Then she adds, with a characteristic gulp, "But I mean, Albert Finney is up there with him."

Miss Minnelli loves the English countryside, especially up around Windsor where she used to stay with Michael and Shakira Caine when they lived there. She also loves the American countryside, especially up around Lake Tahoe where they have a country home. And she loves Italian food, adores Elton John - and Puccini, thinks Aretha Franklin is just, I mean, phew! and adores Johnny Mathis too. Marvin Hamlisch is a genius, Paris is wonderful, as is Australia. She loves reading, loves Florence, likes red wine, and likes small parties. And also big opening night parties (hers was at the

White Elephant on the River, champagne, crab, strawberries, and buckets of celebrities). Black-and-white-and-red-together she loves, but she likes pink too and is starting to like softer colours generally. She hates smoking, but does it anyway.

Miss Minnelli is more at ease now, which means that instead of being nervous she's become slightly cautious. She is thoroughly untanned, small and thin, far thinner than she appears on stage, and the voice rather elegant with its slightly English intonation - except

when Liza remembers how important laughter is to her and goes ha-ha-ha like the sound of tiny porcelain plates hitting the ceiling.

"What sort of things depress you?" She flinches as if struck in the face, thinks hard. The seconds tick by like hammer blows. The personal negative looms. Then inspiration.

"The news!" she expostulates, with such relief that it seems a smile is going to disfigure her face, but she recovers quickly. "The news upsets me everywhere I go - so depressing."

## Caught with trousers deducted

MOREOVER... Miles Kingston



People Who Do Very Unusual Jobs Indeed  
8: The Inland Revenue Clothes Assessor

People who work professionally as TV personalities or simply as superstars are allowed to claim the clothes they buy for appearances against tax. Gary's job is to check their claims. It's as simple as that.

Dressed in a lemon yellow jacket, open white shirt, pale grey trousers and a medallion hanging against his chest, where it has created a pale patch in his suntan, Gary operates from an anonymous office in Mayfair. All the locals think it's an M15 headquarters, but that's just a front.

"The medallion is, too, actually," says Gary. "It's a two-way radio with which I keep in touch with base. In this job you have to keep your wits about you, move fast, move silently."

But why does an Inland Revenue officer have to keep radio contact with base?

"The business is all computerized now, you know - we're way into the information technology age. Look, I'll show you. Here's a claim from a well-known film star for ten suits, bought for ten chat shows, total cost £1,400. But here in our memory bank we've got video details of all ten of those chat shows. I just call up the requisite footage, take a look and what do I see? I see that he wore the same suit for all ten. Shabby grey worsted, with the left cuff button missing after the first five shows. So we disallow his claim and counter-sue him for false tax returns."

Gary spent two years at the East Molesey School of Fashion and Male Cosmetics before

entering the Inland Revenue, so he knows what he's talking about. He really wanted to be a TV personality himself, but unfortunately his grey-streaked hair makes a strobeoscopic effect on camera: still, he enjoys using his expertise.

"Here's another claim we had last week. Famous entertainer, has his own TV variety show, does about six changes of costume during the show, sent in a claim for £2,000 worth of clothes. I've run his last season through the viewer and I reckon that at a conservative estimate he used up at least £5,000 worth of clothes - one little glitter number is worth £800 alone. Atrocious taste, mark you, but valuable."

So that's all right, then? "No, no - we sued him for filing false returns as well. People don't seem to realize that underestimating your allowance is just as illegal as overestimating it. We're hard but fair here. Well, hard, anyway."

The hardest case they had recently was that of a freelance political journalist who claimed £500 against a beautifully embroidered Afghan jacket which he claimed to have bought in Kabul, and wore for a TV discussion on Afghanistan.

"Some sixth instinct told me he wasn't telling the truth. Oh, he had a receipt all right, but you get a feeling in this trade for when someone isn't coming clean. So we sent an investigator out to check up."

The Inland Revenue actually sent a man all the way to Kabul just to check one receipt?

Two, actually. There was someone on breakfast TV who claimed her Afghan slippers

against tax. Anyway, our bloke got there and sure enough, my hunch was proved right. The bloke had bought the jacket at Yussuf's tailor's shop all right - but he'd got it for £6 during Yussuf's *Mammoth Winter Sale*, and bribed Yussuf to fiddle the receipt.

"And that wasn't all. When our investigator got back, he claimed £660 for himself against buying protective clothing for the overland trek into Afghanistan. Well, that was foolish. We all knew he was a

"Do you have lots of property? Some vagabonds collect houses."

"No, I collect artwork. My husband's a sculptor besides being a producer. I've got a terrific collection of Andy Warhols."

"Is he a friend?"

"Andy? Sure."

"What is your most treasured possession?"

"My sense of humour, ha-ha-ha. I love laughing. It's a great cure for the soul. Also, it's very good for the diaphragm."

But this laughter can be slightly eerie, like the operation at regular intervals of some terrible curse, as if "Liza" has got to spell "fun" at all costs. Perhaps it is part of the show, part of the tradition, just as that great grinding singing voice of hers is, that "born in a trunk/ the show must go on/ roar of the greasepaint/ you gotta come back a star" voice. All her confusion and corniness make sense the moment she walks on stage, which is the place where the ghosts - Mama, Daddy, at least three miscarriages, the divorces - finally get stamped out by sheer determination. Yes, the show - a handful of songs from way-back-when

Liza would like life to be a big warm pool

woven into a clever, dramatic sequence, punched up by a tight brass band, and Liza belting it at ya on a billion-watt burn. It is classic American vaudeville come to town, an act in which Judy Garland and Jimmy Durante collide head on and a new star is born who can handle a torch song better than anyone else alive. In her class, the song and dance girl, Liza Minnelli is the best there is. In fact she is almost the only one there is.

On the cold data she should have sunk without trace: no obvious beauty, no obvious larynx, alternately spoilt and rejected in childhood, the crushing ego of a spectacular mother. Once when Judy Garland was on a downer, a friend told her not to forget the rainbow. "Rainbow, rainbow," she replied, "how can I ever forget the rainbow? I've had rainbows up my arse!"

With Liza it isn't rainbows, it's mothers. So this time Judy Garland hasn't been so much as mentioned in the conversation. Nor, for that matter, has her father, Vincente Minnelli, a successful maker of film musicals but a dull man. Yet Judy Garland is the brilliant and tragic - some say pathetic - dimension which lends its exoticism still. Judy Garland was a 22-carat mess. She died a wreck, being fired even from the set of *The Valley of the Dolls*, which is just about the wreckiest thing anyone could manage. But failure has its own peculiar endurance and the way Judy Garland continues to live through her daughter's performance gives an extraordinary ambiguity to Liza Minnelli's personality.

"Do you use psychiatrists?"

"No, I guess I've been lucky. I haven't found the need."

Surprise - but then it is so easy to forget, amidst all the razzamatazz and tragicomic PR, that even the unluckiest case histories are flooded with normality.

"Do you have any friends from childhood?"

"Oh, yes. My girlfriend's coming over to see me and she's the show. Her name is Pam Reinhardt. She's in real estate."

keen rock climber and had the stuff already. Of course he was drummed out of the Revenue and had his epaulettes torn off. And then he tried to claim for the epaulettes. Some people."

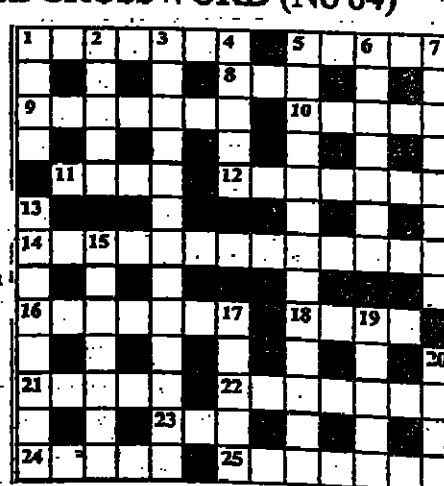
And how about Gary's yellow jacket, grey trousers...? "Oh, sure, I'll claim for that. Interview with *The Times*. Got to look my best. Uphold the Revenue image. I wouldn't bother claiming for your get-up, though."

Oh, why not? "Correct me if I'm wrong, but didn't you wear that suit for a brief appearance on *Late Night Line-Up* in 1968?"

## CONCISE CROSSWORD (No 64)

ACROSS  
1 Not deep (7)  
5 Iranian enemy (5)  
8 TV news service (1,1,1)  
9 Tempted (7)  
10 African grasslands (5)  
11 Skin complaint (4)  
12 Drip dry (3,4)  
14 Non acquiescence (3,10)  
16 Lively party (5,2)  
18 Worn object (4)  
21 Small coins (5)  
22 Distressing (7)  
23 Small ocean (3)  
24 Carries (5)  
25 Allegiance (7)

DOWN  
1 Snowdrift (4)  
2 Roof space (5)  
3 Unrestrained sexuality (13)  
4 Open fully (5)  
5 Insuperableness (13)  
6 Wing flap (7)  
7 Proposed (8)  
13 Reptile tail (8)  
15 Waist set (4,3)



SOLUTION TO No 63:  
ACROSS: 1 Chief's Catnap 6 Rah 9 London 10 Attack 11 Peck 12 Burberry 13 Sponge 15 Minute 17 Unstated 20 Gibe 22 Tuxedo 23 Ice axe 24 Off 25 Entrap 26 Ensure  
DOWN: 2 Leave 3 Redskin 4 Crumble 5 Chair 6 Thine 7 Account 14 Penguin 15 Midwife 16 Negress 18 Their 19 Troop 21 Boxer  
(Solution to No 64 on Monday) Recommended dictionary is the New Collins Concise English

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A SPECIAL REPORT

# Saudi Arabia

The West exaggerates Saudi Arabia's capacity to influence Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization while the Arabs exaggerate America's ability to put pressure on Israel. If Mr George Shultz, the American Secretary of State, believed that once he had negotiated an agreement for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, Saudi Arabia would persuade Damascus to move out its troops, he was due for an inevitable disappointment

The Saudi capital is an important call for leaders seeking to shape the fate of the Middle East. As Mr Shultz and President Hafez al-Assad of Syria showed by their recent visits. But the fact that the Saudis are the key Arab paymasters does not give them the power to dictate Arab policies.

Washington has also appeared to overestimate Saudi Arabia's willingness to make any moves which would put it out of step with the rest of the Arab world. It is tempting for the Americans to think in terms of "moderate" states, essentially Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which can be brought into play against "extremists" like Syria, and to hope that the PLO can be swayed by "moderate" pressure.

But such constructions are mirages. Saudi oil wealth is obviously not without influence. Saudi Arabia's importance as a producer ensures that Western governments and businessmen attach the greatest importance to cultivating good relations with the kingdom. What it does with its funds is vitally important to the international banking system. But the power of Saudi money within the Arab world is much more ambiguous.

The Saudis find themselves financing the PLO, the Syrians and their Iraqi opponents. The level of Saudi loans to Iraq, a figure which is not disclosed, for Baghdad's war with Iran may be \$20,000m. These loans are not expected to be repaid.

Saudi Arabia, for which communism is anathema, is not in a position to prevent Moscow exerting influence on President Assad. Nor can Riyadh determine how far the PLO mends fences with

Damascus after Mr Yasser Arafat's abortive negotiations with King Husain of Jordan.

But if Saudi Arabia cannot control what happens in the Arab world, its role remains significant. The Saudis work at keeping the Arabs as united as possible. King Fahd would never be tempted to emulate the late President Sadat by stepping out of the fold and dealing directly with Israel.

As Crown Prince, however, Fahd was responsible in 1981 for the first constructive attempt at a pan-Arab initiative since the foundation of Israel, which included an implied de facto recognition of Israel's right to exist. The plan provoked an immediate crisis of Arab disunity.

## Syria, a vital part of the jigsaw

There are limits to how far the Saudis are willing to go to try to hold all the Arabs together. Colonel Gaddafi's Libya, for example, is probably considered beyond the pale. But despite ideological differences, Syria is seen as a vital part of the jigsaw. The Saudis will, therefore, play Syria like a fish they cannot afford to lose.

King Fahd unquestionably wants a settlement of the conflict between the Arabs and Israel, but not a settlement on any terms.

The Saudis prefer quiet diplomacy to public statements. Prince Sultan, the Defence Minister, did indicate in Paris

last week that his Government would not attempt to exert pressure on the Syrians to leave Lebanon. That, he seemed to think, was a matter for the Lebanese.

Prince Sultan was speaking after meeting his American counterpart, Mr Caspar Weinberger.

Saudi Arabia is not willing to cast itself in the role which for months it has been urging on the United States. When Mr Francis Pym, the British Foreign Secretary, was in Riyadh last month, Prince Saud, the Foreign Minister, emphasized the need for greater American efforts to get the Israelis out of Lebanon.

Since then, Israel has wrong-footed the Arabs by making its withdrawal dependent on a similar move by the Syrians, who last week rejected the terms worked out during Mr Shultz's shuttle.

Conservatism is a valuable asset of the Saudis. What they tell the Americans and other Western governments cannot be confused by any suspicion that the kingdom is being manipulated by the Russians.

The Saudis see no shortage of dangers in their region. They are worried about Afghanistan, from where, although "godless" communism has not succeeded in crushing Islamic resistance, the Saudis see a potential Soviet threat to the Gulf itself. No end is seen to the war between Iran and Iraq, where every new offensive ends in stalemate. This has helped to reduce the very real Saudi fears in the early stages of the war that the Iranians might be able to impose a regime on Baghdad and possibly install revolutionary regimes around the Arab shore of the Gulf.



George Shultz, the American Secretary of State, (left) and Prince Saud al-Faisal, the Saudi Foreign Minister. Does each have too high hopes of the other's ability to produce a settlement in the Middle East?

Privately, the Saudis say that their aid to Iraq does not imply any desire to humiliate Tehran and that they foresee a need for an international effort to help Iran with postwar reconstruction.

Meanwhile, the Sunni Saudis show their anxiety about possible Iranian-inspired subversion among Shi'ite Muslims on the western side of the Gulf.

The Saudi Minister of the Interior was in Bahrain on the day that the discovery of an Iranian-backed plot was announced there in 1981, a development which greatly disturbed Riyadh.

Bahrain is close to Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, the centre of the oilfields and Qatif and Hasa, where the Shi'ite population of the kingdom is concentrated. The Shi'ites, who may number about 250,000, are probably far too small a minority to threaten the regime.

But there was a previous outburst of Shi'ite unrest in the province, and the areas where they are numerous are kept under close surveillance. Those

suspected by the authorities of disaffection are detained.

The Saudis would like close cooperation on internal security between the six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council. The strongest opposition to extradition comes from Kuwait, the society nearest to a democracy in the Gulf.

Saudi Arabia's deep distrust of the Soviet Union is not matched by any eagerness to see a greater American presence in the region. Big defence contracts with the US and a common concern about Moscow's intentions do not affect King Fahd's desire to avoid all superpower involvement in the Gulf.

Much more suspicious of the Russians than Kuwait, the only GCC state having diplomatic links with Moscow, Saudi Arabia recoils from the sort of commitment to the American camp found in Oman.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war have not deflected the Saudis from their conviction that the Arab-Israeli conflict is the main source of instability in the Middle East.

## A welcome from the West

But it is hard to see how Saudi Arabia can translate this conviction into action. The Fahd plan of 1981, by guaranteeing all states in the region, came closer to recognition of Israel than the Arabs had ever done. The diplomatic turmoil which this unleashed graphically showed the price to be paid for Arab unity.

Rather than launching initiatives, the more usual approach is to show readiness to support what the Saudis see as constructive moves. This meant that they were prepared to back King Husain if he had been able to reach an agreement with the PLO to enter negotiations on the lines proposed by President Reagan.

The stance was welcomed by the West because it showed that the Saudis would listen to American proposals for Palestinian autonomy linked with Jordan, which obviously fell well short of the pan-Arab demand at Fez for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza, with its capital in Jerusalem.

What the Saudis could not realistically be expected to do was to push King Husain and Mr Yasser Arafat, the chairman

of the PLO, together and save the Reagan plan.

The only immediate consolation for Riyadh, which was shocked by the suddenness of the plan's collapse last month, was that this made the US redouble its efforts to secure an Israeli departure from Lebanon. But this was a brief respite.

Having persuaded Israel, the Americans looked to the moderate Arabs to "deliver" Syria. Prince Sultan publicly rejected this role last week. Saudi Arabia was "not the instrument of any other state, big or small, to exercise pressure against the interests of the Arab nation," he said.

Denis Taylor

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page VIII

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# Oil: can the price be held?

Saudi Arabia has always sought to exert a decisive, moderate and stabilizing influence on the world price of oil. This year, with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries facing the most severe crisis in its 23-year history, Saudi oil policy has been put to a searching test in the full glare of international attention.

The March Opec agreement, reached only after 11 days of intensive negotiations at a London hotel, owed a great deal to the skilful orchestration of Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Shaikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani. It is still too early to be certain whether the agreement will succeed in stabilizing oil prices around the new marker price of \$29 a barrel. The initial indications are encouraging, but both Yamani and King Fahd are acutely aware that the combination of economic recession and fundamentally weak oil demand, which has caused problems for Opec for nearly three years, will continue to threaten the stability of the oil market for several more years.

It is little comfort to the Saudi rulers that they have repeatedly, consistently - and correctly - warned their more short-sighted colleagues in Opec that in 1979/80 they were only storing up trouble for the future by pricing their oil out of the market. Their worst fears have now been confirmed, but Saudi Arabia has little option except to do its best to limit the damage. There are ways in which being the world's largest oil exporter confers not only power but a certain impotence, and this paradox is one that seems likely to continue to dog Saudi policy for some time.

From the Saudis' point of view, the most significant aspects of the Opec agreement were probably threefold. For a start, it was an agreement reached by Opec, despite the fear that the oil producers' organization might be disintegrating.

Saudi Arabia was a founder member of Opec in 1960, and has long been its most influential member. It wants Opec to survive, but the tension between Saudi Arabia and its moderate Gulf allies (Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar) on the one hand and the politically diametrically opposed regimes in Iran and Libya has intensified in the past year.

Saudi Arabia has carefully cultivated the Gulf Cooperation Council not only as a political grouping but as a forum for policy discussions about the oil market. The threat by the council's six oil-producing members (the four Opec moderates plus Bahrain and Oman) to make unilateral price cuts unless Opec fell into line was an important influence in preparing the ground for the March agreement.

How seriously the Saudis intended the threat is not exactly known, but the emergence of the moderate Gulf axis as a factor in the oil market at least serves to give notice that Saudi Arabia is keeping its options open on Opec. So, too, does the evident desire of the Saudis to establish greater links with non-Opec oil-producing countries such as Mexico, Britain and the Soviet Union.

## No deals under the counter

The second feature of the Opec agreement is that it incorporates the first formal and uniform price cut that Opec has ever made (as well as the first cut on the official price of Saudi Arabia's light Arab Sea oil, the traditional Opec marker price). This very much bears the Saudi stamp: it was last November that Shaikh Yamani first aired the possibility that his country was prepared to consider cutting the then prevailing \$34 a barrel Opec marker price.

By the first weeks of this year, as it became clear that the normal winter seasonal upturn in oil demand was not strong enough to let Opec off the hook, the Saudi position hardened. They now regarded a price cut as both inevitable and necessary: the question then became what level of price cut would be appropriate and what the more hardline Opec members such as Iran could be persuaded to agree.

The original and preferred proposal from the Saudi camp was for a \$4 a barrel cut to \$30 a barrel although they threatened reductions of as much as \$7 a barrel. In the end, after the Nigerians cut their price by \$5.50 a barrel in response to the competition from North Sea oil, and stubbornly refused to raise it again to align with the \$30 reference price proposed by the Gulf countries, a compromise reduction of \$5 a barrel was settled on.

Throughout, however, Saudi Arabia made it clear that any agreement was conditional on other Opec members ending the price discounting and over-production that led to the undermining of earlier price and production agreements. Almost alone, Saudi Arabia has refused to do any under-the-counter deals to steal a larger share of the market.

The Saudi position on prices is often misunderstood. The kingdom would naturally prefer to have a higher rather than a lower oil price, but it is well aware of the direct if complicated linkage between oil prices, the health of the Western economy and the value of its



Pipelines in the sand: when will production pick up?

own invested oil surpluses. It regarded the price rises that followed the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 as excessive and damaging both to the West and Opec itself.

For 32 months between 1979 and the Opec meeting at the end of 1981, it kept its prices below those of other member countries, raising its price only in return for compensating price cuts by the other countries.

This year's price cut is the logical outcome of its policy: Shaikh Yamani hopes that the new price has been set at a level which is not only sustainable in the short-term but is also fixed at a reasonable level to protect the long-term market. The desire to ensure continued long-term demand for oil reflects the

fact that Saudi Arabia has reserves of at least 160,000 million barrels, a quarter of the world's total, and enough to last at least 100 years at present production levels.

The third significant feature of the Opec agreement was the specific acceptance by Saudi Arabia of its role as "swing producer" of oil, both within Opec and (by extension) for the world as a whole. The kingdom has agreed to vary its output to match the variations in demand remaining after Opec's 12 other members have produced up to their individual production quotas.

Whereas two years ago, the Saudis accounted for more than a fifth of the non-communist world's oil supplies, today

the figure is a twelfth of a sharply contracted market. Saudi share of Opec production has been nationally set at 5 million bpd, with the other 13 countries limited to a total output of 12.5 million bpd.

Saudi Arabia's actual production has fallen to 3.5 million bpd, or even less, and little improvement can be expected until the last few months of this year. Underlying demand for Opec oil is estimated to be running at 16 to 16.5 million bpd, although many western analysts believe it will recover to about 19 million bpd by the end of the year, leaving room for Saudi production of more than 6 million bpd.

Jonathan Davis  
Energy Correspondent

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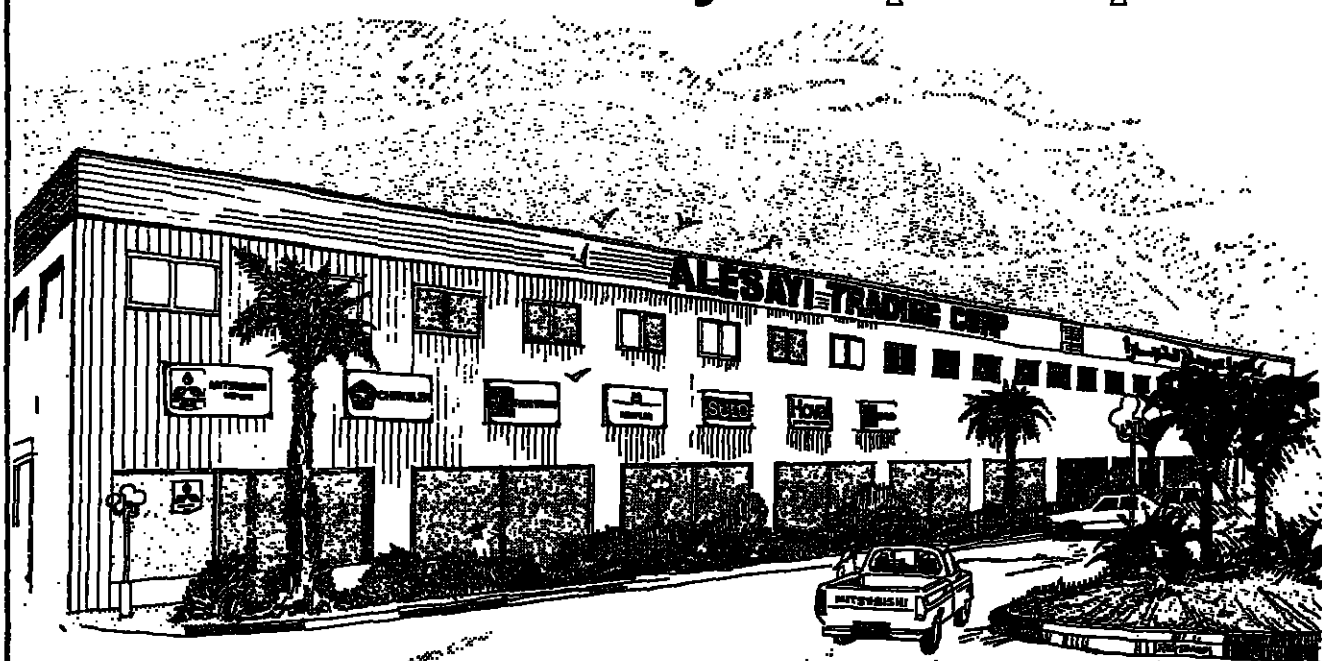
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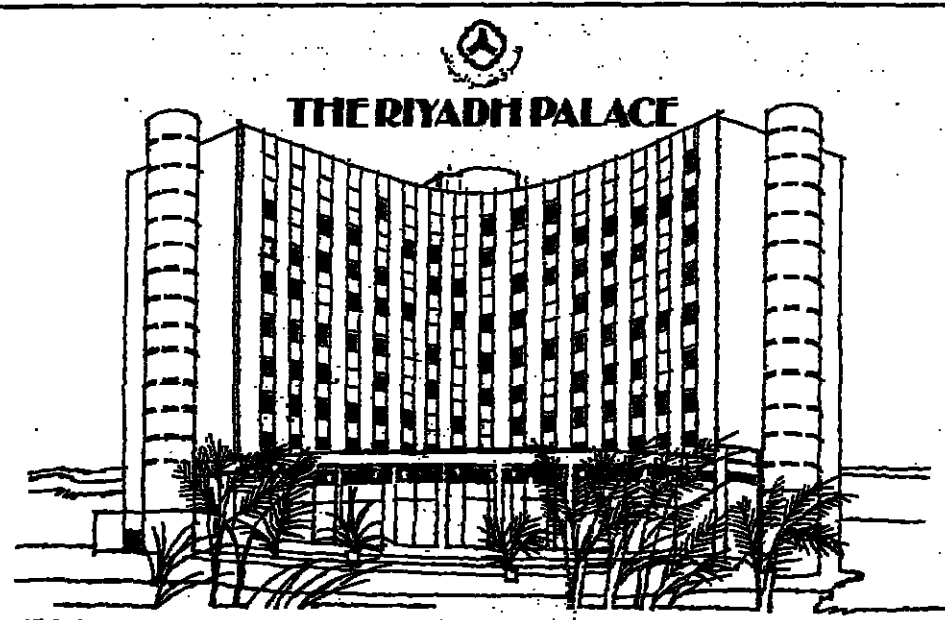
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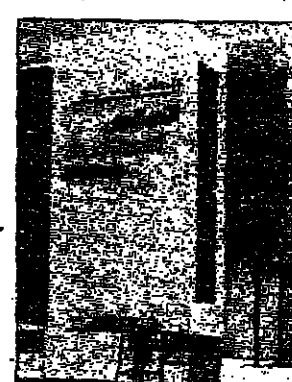
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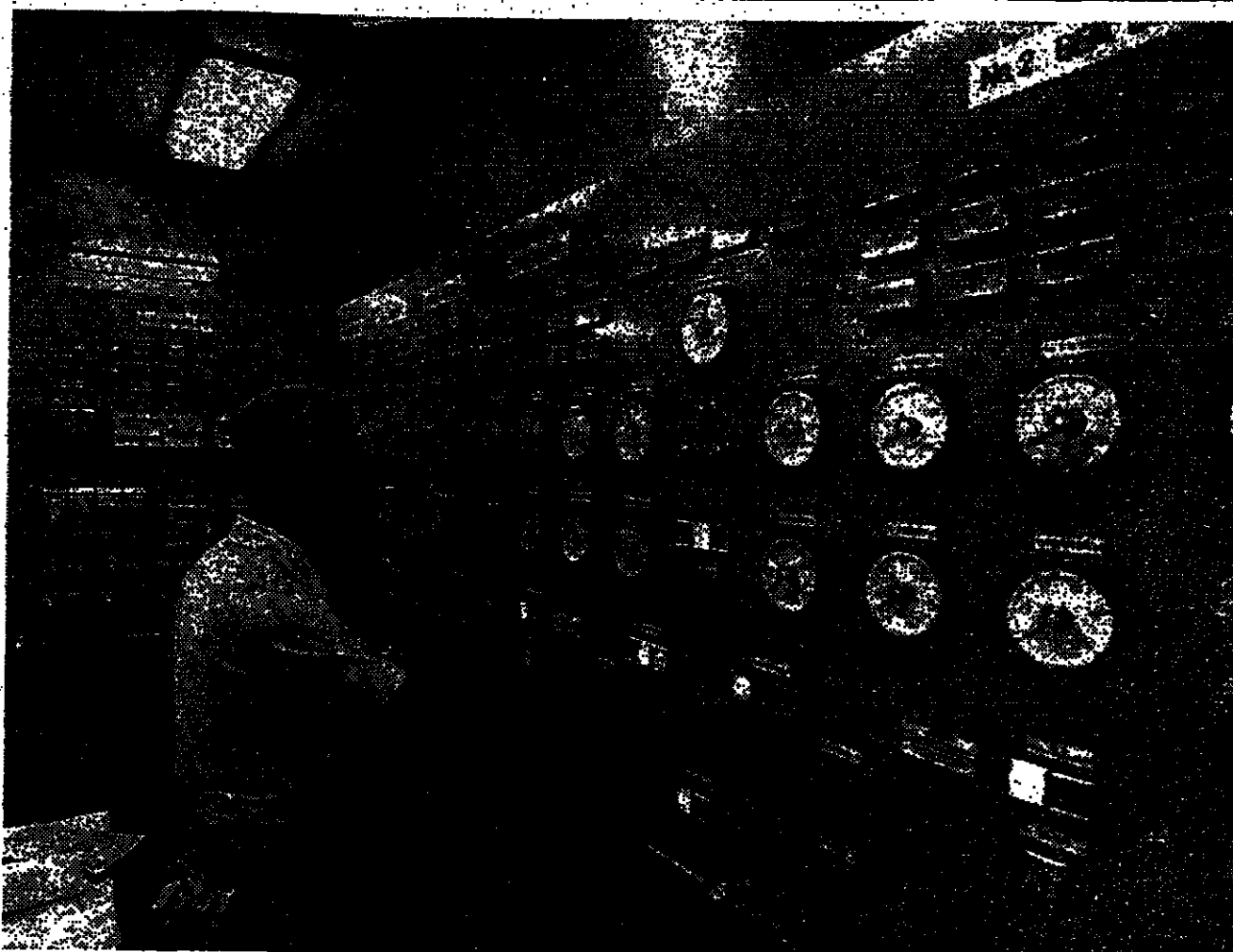
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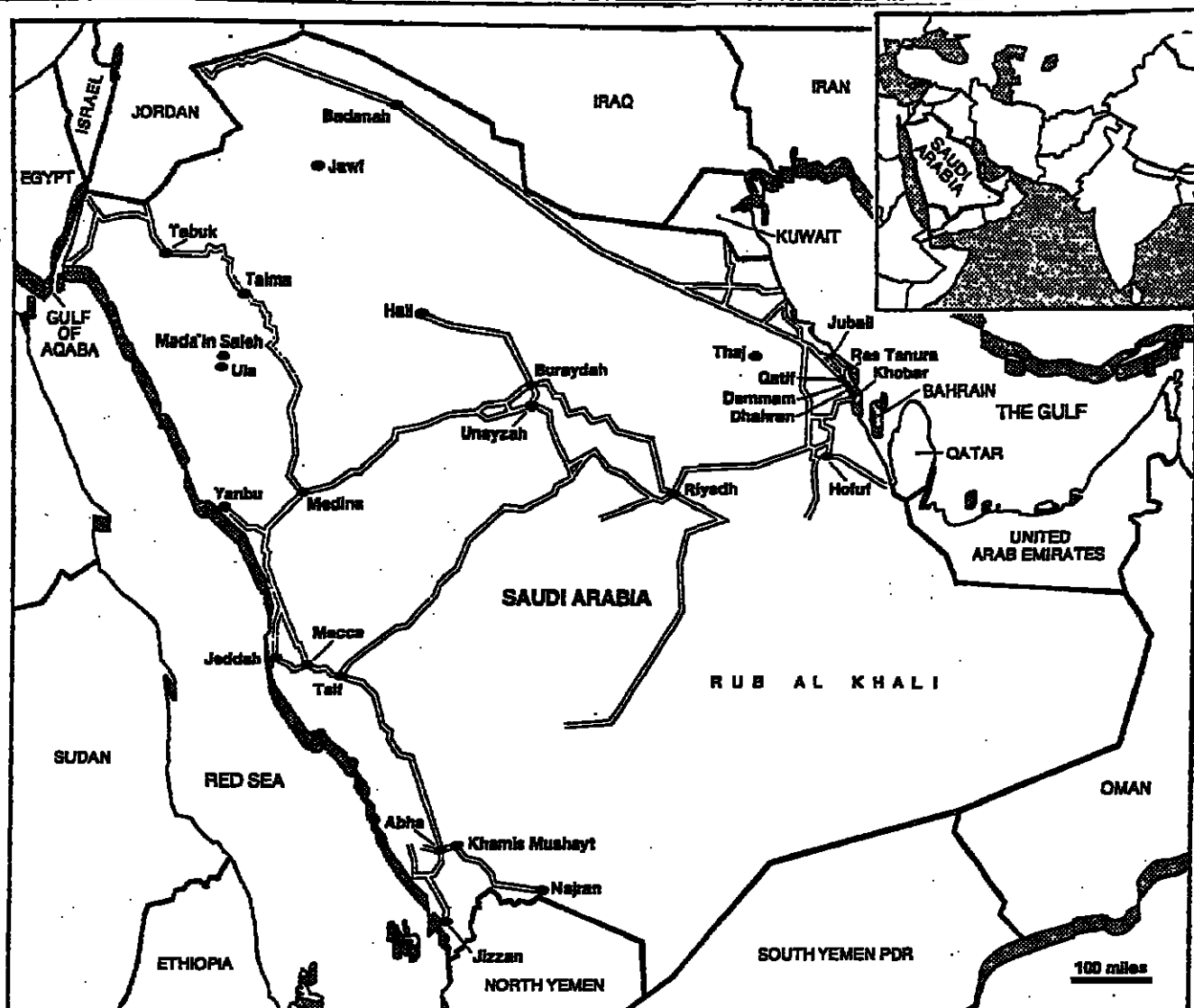
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Saudi Arabia remains heavily dependent on foreign skills



The Saudis, the biggest oil exporters, are pinning their hopes on a sustained recovery of the world economy. If the \$29 a barrel reference price agreed by Opec at its meeting in London two months ago slips, and if demand does not rise significantly, the recent budget's arithmetic will look even more out of date than it does now.

This assumes that the projected deficit of 35,000m riyals (about \$10,000m) will be financed by drawing down Saudi Arabia's foreign reserves. The immediate reaction of some financial observers was to double this figure.

The 260,000m riyals package for the financial year ending April, 1984, works on the assumption that revenue will reach 225,000m riyals, equivalent to an annual oil income of 6 million barrels per day at \$29 a barrel. Oil analysts estimate present production at below 3.5 million bpd.

King Fahd has said that he hopes production can now be organized in a manner ensuring the joint interest of petroleum producing and consuming countries.

The market certainly looks steadier than seemed possible at the start of this year, and so far the sort of discipline that Riyadh likes to see has prevailed inside Opec.

But it will take more than the patchy recovery yet detected in the industrialized nations to raise demand to even the 5 million bpd share of the national output of 17.5 million bpd assigned to Saudi Arabia during the London talks.

Saudi production last year reached an average of 5.6 million bpd, lower than fore-

## Budget hopes pinned on the world oil market reviving

cast. This led to government expenditure of 243,000m riyals, compared with allocations of 313,000m riyals. The current budget, therefore, sees expenditure levels higher than those achieved in the most recent financial year, a pattern likely to be repeated in 1983-4.

The points to note are that this is the first time the Government has announced its intention of dipping into external assets as part of its budgetary strategy. The value of official Saudi assets abroad is not disclosed, but several sources put them at about \$140,000m.

Mr. Muhammad Abd al-Khalil, the Minister of Finance and National Economy, conceded last month that Saudi Arabia would also run a current account deficit this year, but did not intend to borrow. That he can say this, even if intentions are later changed, puts the Saudi position in perspective.

The kingdom has long-term structural problems. It can never again count on 10 years of soaring oil prices and continue to suck in imports on such a vast scale.

But while there can be no doubt that Saudi Arabia is in for a period of retrenchment - in which, without a real improvement in the petroleum market a choice may have to be made between drawing further on

external reserves or curbing imports - there could be no greater contrast than with a non-Opec producer like Mexico, overwhelmed by debts incurred on the now dubious strength of its oil.

Riyadh can well afford to cut back on the flyovers and sports stadia which are badges of wealth rather than answers to pressing needs.

Those Saudis who were in favour of reducing oil output before the most recent Opec crisis, because they thought development excessive, are not displeased by the prospect of the more stringent era which King Fahd presaged in a recent televised appeal to "consolidate the country".

Development in this, the most conservative of Islamic societies, is not purely a matter of economics. Modernization must take account of influential religious elements as well as of the oil price.

The authorities now say that enough progress has been made to allow a sharp drop in investment in infrastructure during the rest of the third five-year plan (1980-5). The sums allotted to housing and public works have been cut from 18,011m riyals in 1982-3 to 2,454m riyals.

While allocations for almost every sector have been cut when compared with last year, the

funds for health and education are roughly in balance with those earmarked for 1982-3, as are those for running schools and universities.

Construction funds for education have been almost halved, but there is no similar reduction for hospitals. In spite of some prestige projects, health care has been relatively neglected in Saudi Arabia. At a time of enforced financial prudence, it makes political sense not to prune spending which affects daily life. Food subsidies are also being maintained.

Defence and security are still the largest items of expenditure, despite the reduced allocation of 75,733m riyals. The sum earmarked for last year was 92,889m riyals.

Saudi Arabia remains one of the world's biggest arms purchasers. According to a recent report by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, it was seventh in the league table of military spending in 1980. The Soviet Union was in the lead, followed by the US, China, West Germany, France and Britain.

The latest, more modest target, means that Riyadh is planning to assign 29 per cent of the budget to defence, still one of the highest proportions of any country.

Rulers of the oil states have bought weapons for prestige,

because they could afford them, and because they live in a very insecure region. The US has used defence sales to Saudi Arabia and to Israel to try to satisfy both of the mutually hostile nations which Washington sees as essential partners in its Middle East strategy.

Competition in the already tough civil market has sharpened with the increasing protection of Saudi firms. A decree issued earlier this year obliges foreign contractors to subcontract at least 30 per cent of government work to wholly Saudi-owned companies.

The awarding of construction contracts, for which South Korean and Turkish as well as Japanese and western firms are competing, is expected to continue to slow down. But Britain has traditionally won few major contracts in the kingdom. Its strength has been as a supplier of items like

machinery, transport and power equipment, manufactured goods, chemicals and foodstuffs, as well as consultancy and financial services.

Occasional disputes, such as that over the television film *Death of a Princess* in 1980, and most recently, over the British Government's refusal to receive an Arab League delegation which included a PLO representative, have provoked anxieties about the possible impact on trade.

But British exports continued to rise. Sales in 1982 of £1,361,665,000 made Saudi Arabia the largest British market outside North America and Western Europe.

Saudi demand is expected to fall this year, but the pattern of Britain's trade may help to cushion it against some of the worst effects.

Denis Taylor

### SAUDI EXPENDITURE

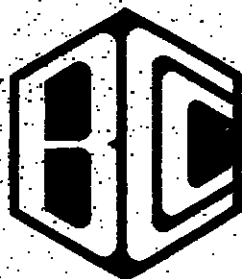
Budget Allocations (in millions of riyals)

	1983-84	1982-3	percentage change
Defence	57,774	92,889	-18.5
Security	17,959		
Manpower development	27,791	31,864	-12.8
Social development	13,591	17,010	-20.1
Transport and communications	24,950	32,532	-23.3
Economic Resources	13,208	22,045	-40.1
Infrastructure	9,583	11,705	-18.1
Municipal services	19,070	26,224	-27.3
Administration	47,053	44,587	-5.5
Lending institutions	20,000	23,382	-14.5
Domestic subsidies	9,020	11,162	-19.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>280,000</b>	<b>313,400</b>	<b>-17.0</b>

Revenue and expenditure during third five-year plan (in millions of riyals)

	1983-4*	1982-3
Rev.	225,000	243,676
Exp.	260,000	243,652
	1981-2	1980-1
Rev.	366,500	348,100
Exp.	283,300	229,000

\* Estimate



**BCCI HOLDINGS  
(LUXEMBOURG) SA**

39 Boulevard Royal, Luxembourg

December 31

Capital Funds US\$

Total Assets US\$

**1982 US\$**

**640 million**

**9,650 million**

**BCC Group now has Offices in 61 Countries**

#### Subsidiaries

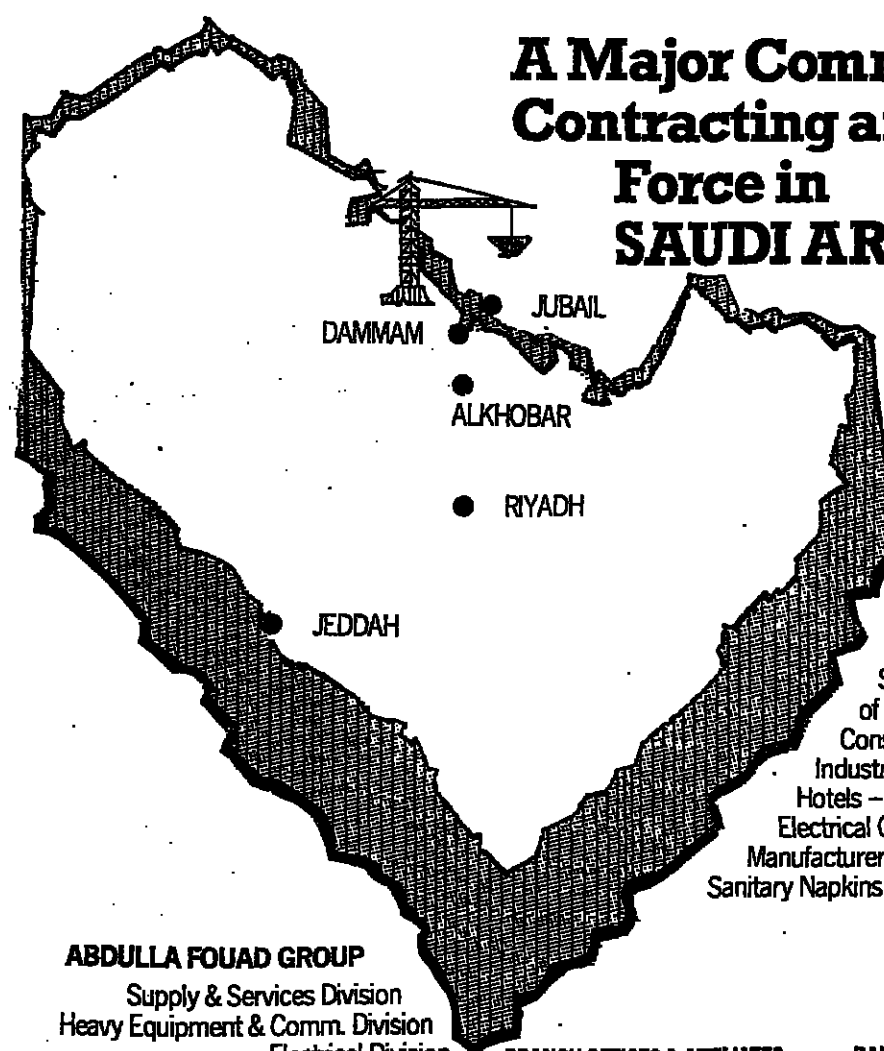
Bank of Credit & Commerce International S.A., Luxembourg.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce International (Overseas) Ltd., Grand Cayman.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce International (Lebanon) S.A.L., Beirut, Lebanon.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce International (Swaziland) Ltd., Manzini, Swaziland.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce Canada, Montreal, Canada.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce (Zambia) Ltd., Lusaka, Zambia.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce (Botswana) Ltd., Gaborone, Botswana.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce Zimbabwe Ltd., Harare, Zimbabwe.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce Cameroon S.A., Yaounde, Cameroon.  
Banque de Commerce et de Placements S.A., Geneva, Switzerland.  
Hong Kong Metropolitan Bank Ltd., Hong Kong.  
BCCI Finance International Ltd., Hong Kong.  
Credit and Finance Corporation Ltd., Grand Cayman.  
BCCI Finance International (Kenya) Ltd., Nairobi, Kenya.  
Italfinance International S.p.A., Rome, Italy.

#### Affiliates

Bank of Credit and Commerce (Emirates), Abu Dhabi, U.A.E.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce International (Nigeria) Ltd., Kano, Nigeria.  
Bank of Credit & Commerce (Misr) S.A.E., Cairo, Egypt.  
National Bank of Oman Ltd., (S.A.O.) Muscat, Sultanate of Oman.  
Premier Bank Ltd., Accra, Ghana.  
KIFCO - Kuwait International Finance Co., S.A.K., Safat, Kuwait.  
BCCI Finance & Securities Ltd., Bangkok, Thailand.  
BCCI Leasing (Malaysia) Sdn Bhd, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

## ABDULLA FOUAD

**A Major Commercial  
Contracting and Industrial  
Force in  
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#### MAJOR BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

General Trading  
Tender Business  
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Supplies of Computers  
Hard & Software/Word  
Processors - Real Estate  
Civil, Mechanical &  
Electrical Contracting  
Travel & Cargo Agency  
Sole Agents & Distributors  
of Heavy & Light Equipments  
Construction Material &  
Industrial Tools - Medical Services  
Hotels - Chain of Supermarkets  
Electrical Conduits - Baby Diapers  
Manufacturers of Plastic/PVC Pipes & Fittings  
Sanitary Napkins & Facial Tissues

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Heavy Equipment & Comm. Division  
Electrical Division  
Aviation & Catering Division  
Fouad Travel & Cargo Agency  
Abdulla Fouad Hospital  
A. Fouad & A. Busbata Co. (FABCO)  
A. Fouad Computer Division  
A. Fouad Impalloy  
Fouad A. Fouad Corp. (FAFCO)  
FAFCO Mantech  
National Industries Company  
Saudi Electro-Mechanical Co. (PETCON)  
Tamimi & Fouad Group  
Basic Chemical Industries  
Civil Works Company

#### BRANCH OFFICES & AFFILIATES

Lebanon: Oms Trading Co.  
Tel: 22179 oms 22179 le  
Tel: 360232/3  
England: A. Fouad London Office  
Tel: 22652 report g  
Tel: 01-499 8464  
USA: A. Fouad Inc. New York  
Tel: WIT 968294 at corp nyk  
Tel: (212) 656-6521  
A. Fouad Inc. Houston  
Tel: ITT 4620456 fouad us  
Tel: (713) 496-1593/4  
Japan: Esco Japan Limited  
Tel: KDD 22749 esscoltd 22749  
Tel: 543-4408/9

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Al-Bank Al-Saudi Al-Hollandi,  
Dammam  
Al-Bank Al-Saudi Al-Frans,  
Dammam  
The National Commercial Bank,  
Dammam  
The Saudi British Bank,  
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**ABDULLA FOUAD**

P.O. Box 257, Dammam - Telex: 601027 Fouad sj - 601524 faico sj - Tel: 8324400 - 8327215





## COURT AND SOCIAL

### COURT CIRCULAR

**BUCKINGHAM PALACE**  
May 19: The Queen, Colonel-in-Chief, accompanied by the Princess Anne, Mrs Mark Phillips, this morning presented New Standards to the Household Cavalry on the Horse Guards Parade.

Her Majesty, with Her Royal Highness, drove from Buckingham Palace in a carriage procession escorted by The Queen's Life Guard, flanked by The Blues and Royals (Royal Horse Guards and 1st Dragoons) with the Guidon of the Regiment.

The Queen and the Princess Anne, Mrs Mark Phillips were received by Major-General Lord Michael Fitzalan Howard (Colonel, The Life Guards) and General Sir Desmond Fitzpatrick (Colonel, The Blues and Royals, Royal Horse Guards and 1st Dragoons) (Gold Sick).

After the presentation, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to address the Parade and Colonel James Hamilton-Russell (Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding Household Cavalry, Silver Suck in Waiting) replied.

The Mounted Squadrons of the Household Cavalry ranked past and the Armoured Squadrons of the Life Guards and The Blues and Royals drove past.

This afternoon the Queen attended a Garden Party given by the Household Cavalry at Burton Court.

Lady Abel Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Miller, Mr Robert Fellowes and Lieutenant-Colonel Blair Stewart-Wilson were in attendance.

**KENSINGTON PALACE**  
May 19: The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon, as Chancellor, today undertook engagements at the University of Kent.

Her Royal Highness, who travelled in an aircraft of the Queen's Flight, was attended by The Hon Mrs Whitehead and Major The Lord Napier and Etchings.

(The court circular was inadvertently printed yesterday.)

**Birthdays today**  
General Sir Hugh Beach, 60; Dr Sir Clifford Butler, 61; Mr H. T. Cadbury-Brown, 70; Sir Harry Campion, 78; the Rev Sir Over Chadwick, 67; Professor Richard Cobb, 66; Flight Lieutenant J. A. Davies, 41; Dr Sir Moses Finley, 71; Lord Keith of Kington, 69; Lord Harlech, 65; Surgeon Vice-Admiral Sir John Harrison, 62; the Earl of Iveagh, 46; the Right Rev Dr John McIntyre, 67; Lady Celia Milnes, 69; Sir Peter Milner, 85; Mr Peter Shore, 59; Mr Justice Skinner, 57; Mr James Stewart, 75.

**Marriages**  
Mr M. J. A. McGowan and Miss S. J. Parsons  
The engagement is announced between Malcolm, son of Mr James McGowan, of The Hermitage, Whitwell, Isle of Wight, and the late former Mrs Caroline McGowan, and Sarah, daughter of Mrs Dorcas Parsons, of Milton House, Mansfield, Leicestershire, and the late Mr Newman Parsons.

The marriage will take place on September 17th, 1983, at Lawford parish church.

**Major J. R. Pawson, RE and Miss M. H. Tuckett**  
The engagement is announced between Richard Pawson and Jo Tuckett. The marriage will take place shortly in Western Australia.

**Mr W. B. B. Gammell and Miss G. E. Digby**  
The engagement is announced between William B. B. Gammell, BA, of Foxhall, Kirklington, and Geraldine Digby, MA, CA, of 152 Wirwood Avenue, Garrawhill, Glasgow.

**Mr A. Roberts and Miss V. de Trafford**  
The engagement is announced between Andrew, son of Mr and Mrs E. C. Roberts, of Parkstone, Dorset, and Victoria, daughter of Mr D. H. de Trafford, of Applethorpe, Hampshire, and Countess Michalowska, of Beaulieu, Hampshire.

**Mr C. D. Townsend Green and Miss R. E. Hodgkins**  
The engagement is announced between Colin, son of Mr and Mrs C. A. Townsend Green, of Sandford-in-the-Vale, Oxfordshire, and Rachel, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs V. A. Hodgkins, of Charnay Bassett, Oxfordshire.

**Mr A. G. Rud, Jr. and Miss R. F. Long**  
The engagement is announced between Anthony G. Rud, Jr, elder son of Mr and Mrs A. G. Rud, of Weymouth, Massachusetts, United States, and Rita M. F. Long, only daughter of Mr L. G. Long, of Southend-on-Sea, and Mrs N. E. Long, of Wootton Bridge, Isle of Wight.

**Mr W. H. Lakin and Miss C. M. Collier**  
The engagement is announced between William H. Lakin, of Brussels, Belgium, only son of Mr Henry Lakin and the late Mrs Lakin, of Leventon, Lincolnshire, and Caroline, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs James Collier, of Chelsea, London.

**Church window recalls SAS men**  
A stained-glass window commemorating men of the Special Air Service Regiment killed on secret missions since the Second World War was dedicated yesterday by the Bishop of Hereford, the Right Rev John Eastaugh, at a service at the regimental church of St Martin's at Hereford.

The 17ft-high window, depicting the winged dagger emblem of the SAS, a helicopter and a faceless soldier, is the work of the Herefordshire craftsman, Mr John Hobbs. It has been paid for by a £27,000 appeal fund set up after the deaths of 19 SAS men when their helicopter crashed in the South Atlantic during the Falklands conflict.

**Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society**  
Mr D. G. Wilson, president of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, presided at the finals of the society's Schools Computing Competition, held at the Computer Science Department, Manchester University, yesterday evening. The prizes were presented by Mr Jack Smith and Mr Norman Kyle. Dr J. C. Thynne, of the Department of Industry, was among those present.

**Royal society of St George**  
The following have been elected honorary officers of the Royal Society of St George (City of London Branch) for the ensuing year: Mr Charles P. Fairweather, chairman; Mr William B. Fraser, secretary; Mr Charles Coward, treasurer.

### THATCHED HOUSE LODGE

May 19: Princess Alexandra, Colonel-in-Chief, The King's Own Border Regiment, this afternoon received Brigadier D. E. Miller, Colonel of the Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Perit upon relinquishing the appointment as Commanding Officer 1st Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Wolven upon assuming this appointment, Colonel E. W. Messenger upon relinquishing Command of the 4th Battalion, Territorial Army and Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Day upon assuming this appointment.

This evening Her Royal Highness and the Hon Angus Ogilvy attended the Reception for the first Sir John Keswick Memorial Lecture, in aid of Flat Physically Handicapped and Able Bodied, at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, London W1.

Princess Alexandra and the Hon Angus Ogilvy were later present at the eightieth Anniversary Reception given by King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers at St James's Palace.

**YORK HOUSE**  
ST JAMES'S PALACE  
May 19: The Duke of Kent, as President, was present this evening at the eightieth Anniversary Reception given by King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers at St James's Palace.

Sir Richard Buckley was in attendance.

A memorial service for Sir Noel Hall will be held today at 2.30 at the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Oxford.

Requiem Mass for Mr James Dewar will be celebrated at 10.30 today at St Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Holborn.



Mrs Freda McKay, mother of Sergeant Ian McKay, VC, the paratrooper who died storming an Argentine gun post on the Falklands last year, after the unveiling at Rotherham Town Hall yesterday of a post of her son commissioned by the town council. The artist is Trevor Stubby.

### Luncheon

**East European Trade Council**  
Lord Shackleton presided over luncheon given by the European Trade Council at the City of London School, after the annual conference dinner on Friday May 13, 1983, the day of the Association of...

**Receptions**  
HM Government  
Mr Barney Hayhoe, Minister of State at the Treasury, was host at a reception held yesterday evening at Lancaster House in honour of the group of senior French civil servants who have just completed a course at the Civil Service College under reciprocal exchange arrangements between the British and French Governments.

**King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers**  
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**Dinners**  
HM Government  
Mr Peter Rees, QC, Minister for Trade, accompanied by Mrs Rees, presided over a dinner held last night at Hampton Court Palace on the occasion of the eleventh session of the British-Soviet Joint Commission.

**Service reception**  
The Director General, Major-General T. B. Palmer, officers of the Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, and the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, presided over a reception at the Royal Institution of Great Britain yesterday. Those present included: Major-General T. B. Palmer, officers of the Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, and the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall.

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### Receptions

**HM Government**  
Mr Barney Hayhoe, Minister of State at the Treasury, was host at a reception held yesterday evening at Lancaster House in honour of the group of senior French civil servants who have just completed a course at the Civil Service College under reciprocal exchange arrangements between the British and French Governments.

**King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers**  
The Duke of Kent, President, and the council of King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers were hosts last night at a reception held at St James's Palace to mark the eightieth anniversary of the granting of his name to the hospital by King Edward VII. The guests included Princess Michael of Kent, Princess Alexandra and the Hon Angus Ogilvy.

**Dinners**  
HM Government  
Mr Peter Rees, QC, Minister for Trade, accompanied by Mrs Rees, presided over a dinner held last night at Hampton Court Palace on the occasion of the eleventh session of the British-Soviet Joint Commission.

**Service reception**  
The Director General, Major-General T. B. Palmer, officers of the Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, and the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, presided over a reception at the Royal Institution of Great Britain yesterday. Those present included: Major-General T. B. Palmer, officers of the Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall, and the Director General, Major-General R. A. F. Air Marshall.

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The annual dinner





The 1980-85 third five-year plan envisages spending 122,500 riyals (\$35.61bn) on education - 16 per cent of the total plan. The aim is free education for all and the eradication of illiteracy which remains staggeringly high.

Some 1.5 million students were enrolled in academic institutions in 1980-1981, 6 per cent more than the previous year. The number of teachers increased by 8 per cent to 82,786 while more than 600 new schools opened. The number of female pupils rose during the year to 569,887, making up 37 per cent of the total compared with 35 per cent in 1979-1980. During the same period the number of women teachers increased from 27,717 to 31,292.

The effect of this immense campaign to educate can be seen clearly in every walk of life, in particular in Aramco, the heart of the oil industry, where Saudis now represent a very high proportion of the work force.

Today Saudi Arabia is outpacing Kuwait in recognizing education as the lasting reward of oil wealth. Rooted in the puritanism of the religious reformation which gave birth to the kingdom, Saudi Arabia is increasingly threatened by the materialism generated by oil wealth. The petroleum industry and the Jubail and Yanbu industrial experiments were essentially initiated by foreigners. Agriculture, in which much is being invested during the current plan, will never be of more than peripheral importance.

## A new age for women

Only education can secure any kind of independence for Saudi Arabia.

One of the ironies of education in Saudi Arabia is that women enjoy virtually limitless opportunities at a time when other restrictions on them are increasing.

The development of women's education, initiated a decade ago by King Faisal and Queen Haja, is by no means restricted to lower and intermediate levels. Twenty-five thousand Saudi women are expected to graduate during the 1980-5 plan.

Associating education with emancipation, girls tend to prove better students than their brothers. Women are bedevilled, however, by a shortage of educational facilities and teachers. These duplicate those of the men's colleges thanks to segregation. While most men studying abroad return to Saudi Arabia to work, highly educated women are often tempted to remain abroad for as long as possible. The longer they stay away, the harder it is for them to be reabsorbed into Saudi Arabia's traditional social system.

Four thousand of the King Saud University's 18,000 students are women. Today, girls can study business, pharmacy, medicine, dentistry and nursing and take arts courses including English and social work.

Saudi Arabia's university development is an attempt to discourage students from relying on the West for learning and to make them think in a way appropriate to the culture and sensitivities of their region.

The King Saud University, which changed its name from Riyadh University last year in honour of the recently rehabilitated King Saud bin Abdul Aziz, the second ruler, is the centrepiece of the system. The university is due to open on a new site on the outskirts of the capital in August next year at a cost of \$5,000m.

There will be separate campuses for 21,000 men and women students. Mansur al-Turki, the university's president, wants it to be the best in the region, taking students from throughout the Gulf.

About one in four of the King Saud students is foreign, mostly from Arab League countries. A quarter of the professors are Saudi. If one includes lecturers the figure is 50 per cent. Of all Saudi university teaching staff 43 per cent are British trained. The university is entitled to send 10 per cent of its graduating class overseas to obtain master's degrees and doctorates, a policy which is likely to change when the massive new campus is finished.

Trevor Mostyn

## How prayer holds the family together

In the corridors of offices and ministries everyone kneels down at the same level before God

despite being a fairly relaxed Muslim in earlier years, now issues such edicts as a recent one reminding his female citizens that they may not work in places where they will meet men. Saudi Arabia sometimes gives the impression of trying to out-Khomeini the Ayatollah, but religion has been a great binding force during the period of Saudi rule.

It also provides a framework for family life that satisfies most of the population. Despite the innovations of twentieth century wealth the Saudi man, woman and child are likely to be law-abiding Muslims who have no need of religious police or fundamentalist decrees, as long as they remain in Saudi Arabia. Prayer rugs go down in the corridors of offices and ministries and everyone from minister to coffee boy kneels at the same level before God.

In villages and among the Beduin the time of day is still reckoned by the sun, sometimes with the help of sundials, thus by prayer. "I still have to make a conscious effort to adjust," said a businessman, "otherwise I miss appointments made by western time."

Islam holds the family together against outside pressures.

Within the family the women are the most important element. They are often the most devout members and rule their families in all matters regarding prayers and fasting, social contracts and marriages (which they often arrange). They try to ensure that their offspring keep up their reading of the Koran. "The other day my grandmother checked on my reading," said a middle-aged Saudi woman, "and told me I was giving too much attention to one chapter - I must read all the Koran, she said."

The giving of alms to the poor flourishes with the new oil wealth. Official Muslim zakat (alms) is assessed at 2 per cent of income and property, levied annually. Like the nascent welfare state it is a means of spreading oil largesse, but there is also a spontaneity about it which survives the criticism that it is a means of showing off.

The principle of giving charity extends to the aid offered to other Muslim and Arab countries, an astonishingly high percentage of gnp compared with that of OECD countries. A daily reminder of a more charitable outlook on life than one normally encounters

in the West is the electric water cooler, installed outside so many Saudi houses for the benefit of the passer-by.

Every Muslim is enjoined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. Saudis are in a position to do it more often and begin at an early age. The late King Faisal instituted the bussing of school-children to Mecca for the haj - a lot more satisfactory for everyone than doing it en famille. Islam is a levelling religion at all times but this is comfortably underlined during the haj when everyone is identically dressed in two sheets of plain white cotton.

A sign of the growing intricacy of Saudi life is the institutionalizing of Islam. The mosque remains a symbol of the community but the imam who speaks the Friday sermon and the muezzin who calls the prayer times from the minaret are paid servants of the government. The imam may well be foreign since there are far more mosques than there are educated Saudis to speak. This inhibits the traditional political content and impact if the sermon but not its popularity, and the mosques are packed.

The ambitious find it useful to be seen in the mosque; the importunate find it a useful place in which to importune. Its educational role had mainly been taken over by the schools but many parents like their children to attend Koranic classes at the mosque, especially during Ramadan.

The power of the Shari'a courts has also grown. In Saudi Arabia there is only Shari'a law (based exclusively on Islamic jurisprudence) and decrees of the King. Crime is harshly punished and there is understandably little of it; it is small consolation to know your hand and will be amputated under general anaesthetic by a surgeon if you are caught stealing three times.

Islam in Saudi Arabia faces challenges from within and without but the two kinds are confused. The present fanaticism is excused by many Saudis as a political gesture to the fundamentalist (such as those who tried to takeover the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979). The Al al-Sheikh argue that the political weakness of Muslim countries arises from their religious backsliding. They are right that religion and politics can not be separated as they can in the West, but the fearsome rigidity of their rulings is having a deadening effect of a country which should be springing to life.

Sarah Searight

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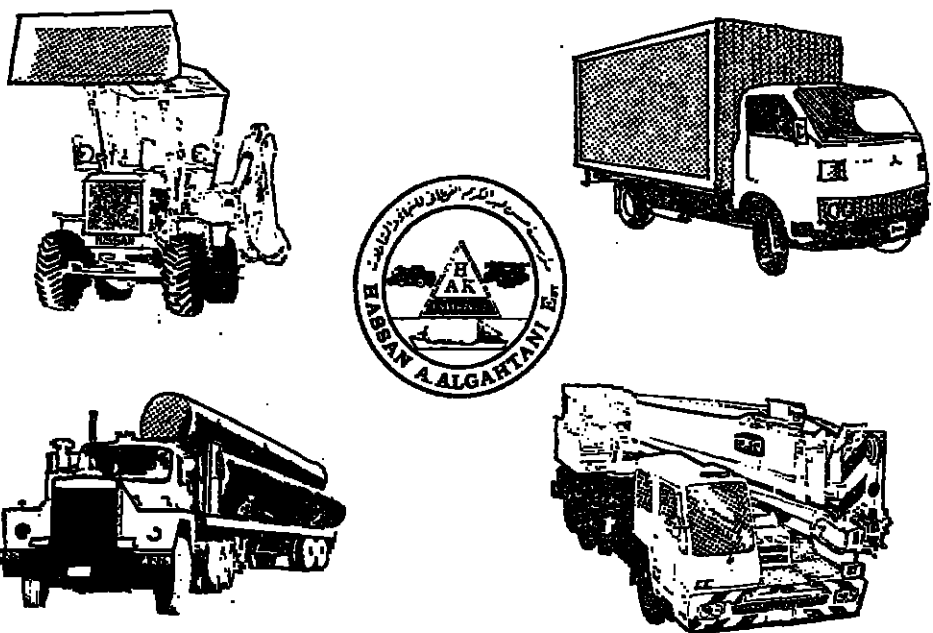
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## SAUDI ARABIA

The Red Sea off Yanbu, north of Jeddah, a new industrial city planned to have a population of more than 100,000 by the end of the century

## Industrial pick-up: the 50 year target

Whether Saudi Arabia can achieve its long-term objective of creating a viable manufacturing sector has yet to be proved. Almost a decade of state intervention in support of industrial development, however, has helped to narrow the gap between the optimistic official view and the opinions of the sceptical outsider. The evidence so far is that selective manufacturing ventures, particularly those capitalizing on Saudi Arabia's massive, low-cost energy resources, may well be here to stay.

But there is also little prospect this century that manufacturing's contribution to gross national product will be much more than a fraction of that from oil and gas.

Mixed feelings in the Saudi private sector suggest that the pace of industrial development will be more modest during the 1980s than in the expansionary decade after the first oil price rises.

A greater sense of realism about what is possible has permeated official thinking, at least since the start of the present five year development plan - the document that defines in quantitative terms the objectives for 1980-85.

Industry was certainly given less emphasis than improving the welfare services available to ordinary Saudis. This contrasted with the second plan, which heavily promoted the target of industrializing the kingdom's economy.

The principles behind the industrialization strategy are attractively simple. Saudi Arabia has at least half a century to develop sources of

income outside the oil sector; enough time, it was argued, for manufacturing in the kingdom to establish itself. The private sector would be encouraged by the state to invest in light industries, while government agencies were to be responsible for capital-intensive, strategic industry.

Money, quite simply, was to be one of the pillars of the strategy, and low-cost energy another. The latter was to be particularly important for heavy industry plants to be based in two entirely new cities: Yanbu, on the Red Sea north of Jeddah, and Jubail, north of Aramco's Ras Tanura complex by the shallow waters of the Gulf.

The industrial city concept is closely associated with the late King Faisal and Bechtel Corporation, which has played a key strategic role in the Saudi economy since it built the kingdom's first refinery at Ras Tanura in the late 1940s. The American company advised the king about the way the Jubail scheme should be implemented, and its local affiliate, Saudi Arabian Bechtel Corporation, is management contractor in the city.

Yanbu is a similar, but smaller, project. Both, however, are major schemes by any standards, requiring billions of dollars of investment over a 25-year period. Both are planned to have populations well above 100,000 people by the end of the century.

Eight of the nine heavy industry plants coming on stream in 1983 and beyond are located in Jubail. The odd-man-out, the Saudi Yanbu Petrochemical Company, is part of a

gas and crude oil processing complex, which has been making rapid progress in Yanbu, supplied with feedstock and energy by oil and gas pipelines crossing the peninsula from the Eastern Province oilfields.

Three of the Jubail plants are more of less complete. The Saudi Fertilizer Company, a Saudi-Taiwanese joint venture, was the first to start operating, followed by the Saudi Methanol Company, backed by Japan, and Haded, the Saudi Iron & Steel Company. The remaining five are due to start by 1986.

Dow Chemicals' withdrawal from the Arabian Petrochemical Company plant in December 1982 reflected the American company's assessment of likely trends in world chemical markets. In a snap decision, Dow announced that it would write off its investment in the scheme, Sabic responded quickly, confirming that it would press ahead alone, though on a smaller scale.

This affair served to highlight the risks associated with the kingdom's heavy industry plan. The repercussions were still being felt in the spring of 1983 when Saudi banks were invited to provide a \$235m medium-term loan to three of the plants, Haded, Sama and the methanol complex. The local response was good, but the foreign partner in at least one of the six joint venture commercial banks was much less enthusiastic about investing just under \$30m in the projects.

Sabic's plans received another knock with the bankruptcy of Korf Stahl, owners of the Midrex process technology

used in Haded, a company in which it also had a small equity stake. Sabic has agreed to buy Korf's share in the plant in phases, but the affair threw fresh light on the vulnerability of the scheme to changes in the behaviour of the foreign partner.

Nevertheless, confidence is still high in Sabic, and the corporation is looking forward to going public during the 1980s. The Government had always planned for the agency to be majority owned by Saudi citizens, and the process of privatization was scheduled to start as soon as the projects opened. This has now been delayed, but there is no evidence that Sabic share sales will not take place as planned.

Meanwhile, Sabic has started work on projects that will process the output of the heavy plants. Plans have been drafted for five downstream projects, producing methyl tertiary butyl ether and butane-1, vinyl chloride monomer and PVC, polystyrene and formaldehyde, and sheet steel. Foreign companies are to be invited to invest, once more in these schemes and provide technology and staff training. Incentive crude supplies, however, are not available this time.

While the Government struggled with the complexities of getting the really huge plants going, the private sector, in a surge of investment sparked by the oil boom, has pushed ahead rapidly with schemes of their own. But, once again, the state has played a key role. The Government founded in the 1970s an industrial development programme including soft

loans and technical assistance. The Saudi Industrial Development Fund (SIDF), occupying one of the prestige twin towers on Airport Road, Riyadh, was created to manage this programme. It has been involved in practically every major industrial venture since then.

The most important factor behind interest in industry, however, was the boom in construction activity. By the end of the 1970s, about one in three of the factories established was supplying building materials, ranging from sand and bricks to marble finishing. The SIDF is now being more selective about which projects get support, and has restricted considerably the number of new loans going to construction material suppliers.

But there are enough examples of projects looking beyond the construction boom to suggest the kingdom can support some manufacturing activities. Leading examples include National Automobile Industries (NAI) of Jeddah, a joint venture between Saudi trading house E. A. Jufaili and Brothers and Daimler Benz of West Germany. Its products now dominate the heavy truck market.

Aluminium Products Company of Dammam is one of the largest aluminium extruders in the region. More recently, the National Pipe Company, sited deep in sand dunes south of Al-Khobar, has been established and is the biggest steel pipe manufacturer in the Middle East.

**Edmund O'Sullivan,**  
Middle East Economic Digest

## Its own wheat 'no matter what the price'

Agriculture is big business in Saudi Arabia despite the constraints of a harsh climate, limited water supplies and a potential to cultivate only a tiny proportion of the total land area. Spurred on by a desire to ensure home-grown food supplies in the interest of national security the Government has organized a massive support programme that makes agriculture probably the country's fastest-expanding sector.

The vastly inflated wheat price guaranteed to local farmers shows just how far the state is prepared to go in its quest for "prudent self-sufficiency" in food by the end of the third five-year plan (1980-85). A Saudi farmer gets \$28 for a 60-pound bushel of wheat, about seven times the world market rate and nearly the same as the cost of a barrel of Saudi light crude oil.

When Riyadh recently announced it did not plan to increase imports of American wheat, barley or sorghum because of a rise in domestic production Mr John Bergland, former US agriculture secretary, ruefully observed that the kingdom wanted its own wheat "no matter what the price". He said: "I told them we could air freight Kansas wheat to them for \$5 or \$6 a bushel." In March the United States opened a special office at its Jeddah embassy to try and boost its \$450m share of the estimated \$7,000m Saudi food market.

Wheat production has risen from 300,000 tonnes in 1982 to about 600,000 tonnes this year, equal to some 80 per cent of domestic consumption. By the end of the 1980-85 plan it is not unreasonable to expect that output will meet local requirements and perhaps leave some over for strategic reserves.

The Government plans to spend 72,000m riyals on agriculture and water resources development in the third plan. By the end of the plan's second financial year in May 1982 one third of this figure had already been allocated. Although the Agriculture Ministry did not escape the budget cuts imposed for 1983-1984 it still remains one of the big spenders on capital projects with an allocation for operations and maintenance and construction totalling 2,712m riyals.

While the state has a certain amount of direct involvement in farming the main responsibility for boosting domestic production lies with the private sector. Financial support for farmers is viewed as a useful channel for the state to disburse cash to its subjects.

Two areas which are expected to receive greater attention in the final years of the third plan are dairy and poultry farming. About 80 million chickens were produced locally in 1982 - less than 40 per cent of total domestic consumption. Egg production is now meeting more than three quarters of local demand and is likely to be encouraged further by a 20 per cent tax recently imposed on imported eggs.

Dairy farming is also growing fast but the government target of reaching self-sufficiency in milk by 1985 - with the production each year of 500,000 tons of milk from 110,000 cows - seems optimistic, farming sources say. Some estimates put the present amount of local milk production at only 10 per cent of the kingdom's needs.

One farming venture which has done well is Maststock Saudi, two thirds owned by Northern Ireland's Maststock International. The firm is the second largest fresh milk producer and among the top four in wheat output in the kingdom. In 1982 it produced 20 million litres of milk and 8,500 tonnes of wheat. This year the firm is seeking to raise production to more than 28 million litres of milk and up to 30,000 tonnes of wheat.

The firm's rapid growth since its formation in 1976 has encouraged it to go ahead with plans to expand from its base in the Central Province. It is opening a dairy and wheat farm in the Eastern Province and a dairy farm in the Western Province.

However, the pitfalls present in the market became apparent in December 1982 when the Saudi Arabian Agricultural and Dairy Company (Saadco) defaulted on a loan interest payment. This followed a series of disputes between the two main partners in the scheme, Lebanese entrepreneur Farid Wakim and Sweden's Alfa-Laval. Saadco's 60-hectare farm at Al-Kharj, near Riyadh, is one



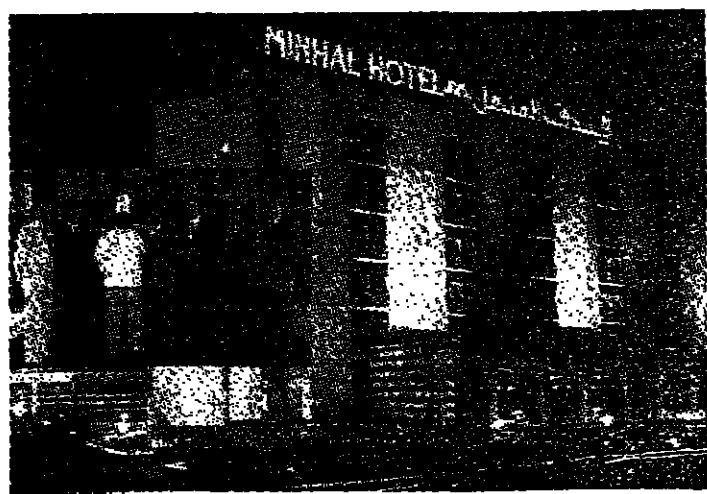
Washing radishes in Hasa oasis: food production is expanding despite the constraints of a harsh climate

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SAUDI ARABIA

The massive task of saving the nation's past

# The railway Lawrence knocked about a bit

A notable Saudi historian remarked not so long ago that he was quite happy to see old buildings knocked down and replaced by new ones, because if they were of any historical or architectural importance they would already be well documented.

Saudis show almost complete indifference to the physical reminders of their past, either recent or distant. It is an attitude of mind that hardly encourages the work of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, which was set up in 1963 as a result of the exceptional interest shown by the late King Faisal.

Results have been slow, not through any shortage of money or effort, but mainly because the department was faced with starting its massive task almost from scratch with few available skilled staff. The department is based in temporary accommodation, including a small museum in Riyadh, but plans, covering the known history of the country from roughly 500 BC to the present, are ambitious.

A new national museum will eventually emerge in and around the Murabba Palace, where Ibn Saud spent his last days in Riyadh. Built, surprisingly, as recently as 1936, it is all that is left of a once huge royal complex, then half a mile outside the royal city walls. Although when I last visited it in 1979 the great mud walls had been beautifully restored and finishing touches put to the interior, the building is not yet open to the public. The national museum is not likely to open its doors for several more years. The Architects' Collaborative,

an American practice, is to undertake the design.

Work is much more advanced on the Masmak Fort in Riyadh, built in 1865 and the scene of a momentous hand-to-hand struggle marking Ibn Saud's first victory in his long campaign to restore the power of the House of Saud and unite the country under his leadership. The fort is the city's only other old building of any note still surviving from the pre-oil era, and the mud-walled shell has been skillfully restored by the Riyadh municipality.

A London firm, Michael Rice and Company, signed a contract last November to implement the master plan and undertake the schematic design of the interior. It could be open to the public by the end of next year.

The fort will have specific exhibition areas devoted to Ibn Saud and the rise of modern Saudi Arabia, the history of the building and its military significance, the history of Riyadh and its evolution as an oasis economy, central Arabia and the construction and restoration of the building. The rest will be

equipped and furnished as a fortress.

After a long delay contractors have now been appointed to build six site museums at Al Hofuf, Jawf, Tabuk, Najran, Jazan and Ula. Three each have been allotted to Gammon, of Pakistan, and a Saudi firm, Fast Contracting Co. The planning advisers for all six and the national museum are Michael Rice and Co.

The site museums will be quite small single-storey structures, and the public areas will be limited to about 25 per cent. They will serve as much as anything as bases for archaeologists, with storage, conservation and laboratory facilities, libraries and living accommodation. A big archaeological survey of the country was carried out in 1975-81 and more intensive digs are now under way, the first season at Thaj in the Eastern Province having just been completed.

The most spectacular archaeological site in Saudi Arabia is Mada'in Saleh, a remote Nabataean settlement in the north-west, noted for its 2,000-year-old tombs with magnificent

Greek-inspired facades carved from solid rock faces. The town was built to deter the Romans from assuming control of the valuable trade in spice and frankincense, over which the Nabataeans held sway until 106 AD. Its more famous twin is the Nabataean town of Petra, in Jordan.

More than 100 rock tombs have been identified at Mada'in Saleh, and although no one lives in the area now the site museum at the oasis of Ula, about 12 miles away, will be devoted to the former Nabataean town. Until recently the site was difficult to visit because it entailed acquiring the personal permission of the Director of Antiquities and Museums in Riyadh, then making the long overland journey to Ula to seek the permission of the local Emir.

The whole trip can now be completed in a weekend package tour arranged by the Sheraton Hotel in Medina, which, like the local airport, is outside the Holy City limits and therefore accessible to non-Muslims. Booking must, however, be made at least a week in advance with details of passports and visa numbers for the hotel to obtain the necessary permission for a visit.

The tour follows part of the route of the old Hejaz Railway, stopping at a station which still shows ample evidence of one of T. E. Lawrence's hit-and-run raids that put the railway permanently out of action in the First World War. The railway is likely to have a permanent place in the national museum.

Geoffrey Weston



A view from the road between Jeddah and Taif: Saudis show almost complete indifference to physical reminders of their past ways of life.

## Doctor shortage affects health schemes

According to a private survey on new hospital projects by the London-based consultants, Cunningham and Associates, 100 new hospital projects costing about \$6,300m are under way in Saudi Arabia. Of these 39 are being built, 22 have or are under tender and 15 at an advanced planning stage.

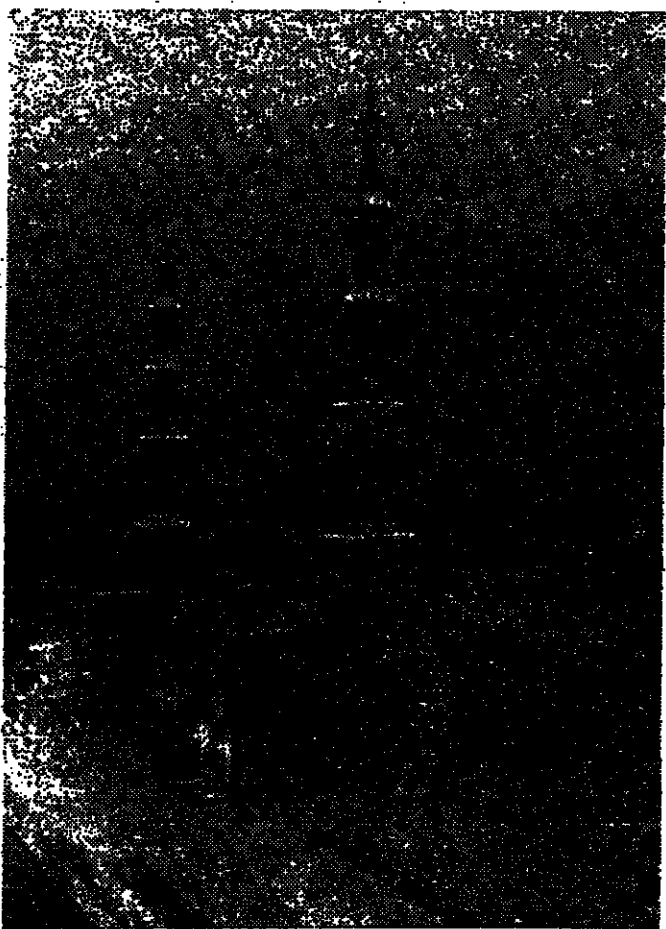
The aim is to create 21,000 new beds by 1987 compared with a total of 23,599 beds in 117 hospitals at the end of last year.

Apart from the Health Ministry, 14 other state organisations are planning new medical facilities. The Ministry of Defence and Aviation (MODA) is adding to its 2,000 beds with eight projects including three extensions. The Higher Education Ministry is building a new teaching hospital, but the National Guard has already delayed several new projects.

One of the key problems affecting all these schemes has been the shortage of local manpower. In 1980 Saudis only accounted for 4.6 per cent of Health Ministry doctors - even less in some of the other state organisations - and the opening of new hospitals and clinics will obviously reduce this percentage further.

Earlier this year the acting Health Minister, Ghazi al-Gosaili, attacked inefficiencies in his department.

Considerable emphasis has been placed of late on the kingdom's deep south, the Najran Asir and Thama Regions. It was announced in March that a 64m riyals (\$18.6m) contract to equip four hospitals in Sharoua, Sa'at, Obaida, Al-Tahith and Al-Meharida had gone to Umedco, a subsidiary of the British United Medical Enterprises.



The Grand Mosque at Mecca, which was briefly seized by Muslim fundamentalists in November, 1979

Umedco also has a 21.5m riyals order to equip a 150-bed hospital at Jubail and 53m riyals scheme at Qatif. Construction of the Qatif hospital should start next year. Late last year the Health Ministry was reviewing bids for six construction packages, a 200-bed hospital in Riyadh, 100-bed hospitals at Huraimilah and Howtah bani Tamim, Al-Khafi, Rafia and Dourmat al-Jandal, Duba, Haqi and Al-Kamel and a 300-bed centre at Aneyzah in Qassim.

Meanwhile a £35m contract to design, build and equip a 150-bed hospital in Jubail was awarded to the Riyadh-based Saudi-British joint venture Laing Wimpey Alreza (LWA). This was LWA's second hospital contract with the Health Ministry in less than a year.

The Key US company associ-

ated with the equipment of hospitals in Saudi Arabia is the Whitaker Corporation. It announced in February a contract for a fourth extension of its agreement with MODA to staff, supply, manage and operate several hospitals and medical facilities. The contract renewal, until August 1986, is valued at \$14,000m.

With this contract Whitaker will be running six hospitals at Jeddah, Tabuk and Khamis Mushayt as well as five out-patients clinics, 11 dispensaries and an air-ambulance service. The aim is to increase staff from 4,000 to about 6,000.

Since 1974 Whitaker has signed \$1,084m worth of hospital management contracts with MODA. From January-December 1982, some one million patients were treated at Whitaker-managed clinics.

Whittaker's first contract signed with Saudi Arabia in 1974 was for the management of three military hospitals at Jeddah, Tabuk and Khamis Mushayt. Further hospitals and clinics increased the value of the overall contract from \$300m to \$834m. The corporation's emphasis is on primary care, which is crucial today due to the heavy emphasis on lavish urban hospitals, such as the King Faisal Specialist Hospital in Riyadh to which a somewhat elitist tag has stuck.

Whittaker's King Faisal military cantonment in Khamis Mushayt was the scene of the kingdom's first open-heart operation. But the corporation does meet the real needs of the community by providing preventive medicine and public health service including inoculations, water testing and instruction in hygiene and nutrition.

Whittaker's chairman and chief executive, Joseph Alibrandi, is reported as saying last year: "To me that is the most satisfying part of our business. I can tell you without equivocation that we have saved a lot of lives in Saudi Arabia."

Military and government hospitals have long been favoured as showpieces. Much publicity has been given to heart transplants, kidney and advanced care for sun-stroke victims. But the problem remains that while large salaries attract doctors and surgeons to man leading urban hospitals, treatment in rural areas still has to catch up.

During the last decade, health care has become an industry in Saudi Arabia, with rich pickings for private medical companies, particularly for hospitals like the 500-bed centre for the National Guard.

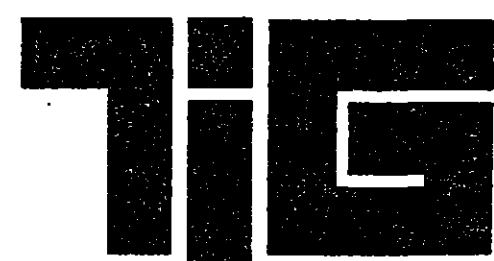
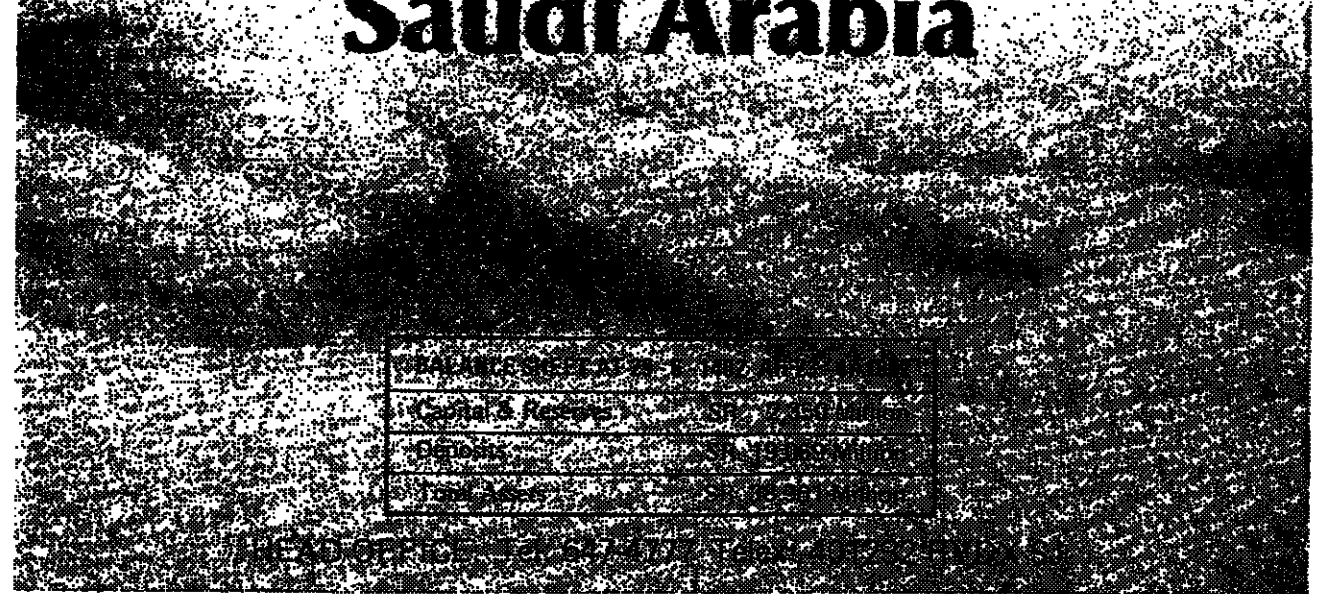
The British, Americans, French and Belgians have long been jockeying for the awards of these projects, although contracts are increasingly going to the South Koreans, whose style of underbidding has made them heavily competitive.

Trevor Mostyn

The author is editor of Saudi Arabia - a MEED practical guide.



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King Fahd: little change in his first year on the throne

## Ruling a state with a multitude of princes

Next month marks the end of the first year of the reign of Fahd bin Abdul Aziz, fifth King of Saudi Arabia and the fourth of King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud's 45 sons to come to the throne. In most countries such a milestone is used to take stock of a new administration's performance and to analyze the changes it has brought about, if only its shift in style.

In the case of Saudi Arabia such an approach is rather unfruitful. Not only is it one of the world's most conservative countries, but Fahd largely wielded the reins of power as Crown Prince and First Deputy Prime Minister from the time his ailing predecessor, Khaled, became king in 1975.

Since King Fahd's accession that year the style of rule has become more collective. It is true that the last 12 months have been overshadowed by an unexpectedly dramatic fall in oil income, but a traditionally cautious policy towards economic management has cushioned the effects and modified the need for change.

Sharp turns in policy or government structure since Fahd became king were neither expected nor implemented. The change at the top was the smoothest in the country's short history and promises more of the same. Much more striking is the longevity of the current leadership, one of the world's oldest.

In 1962 Faisal, then Crown Prince under King Saud, took over a war cabinet after Nasser's troops had moved into Yemen and started bombing the southern towns of Saudi Arabia. Fahd was made Minister of the Interior, charged with implementing a programme of reforms. Abdullah became Commander of the National Guard, Sultan took on defence and aviation and Salman was made Governor of Riyadh. Apart from Faisal, the same partnership of princes continues to control the country today.

The Minister of the Interior and his deputy are now two more of Fahd's brothers, Naif and Ahmad, while another, Prince Mubarak, is Minister of Public Works and Housing.

Only two princes of the next generation sit in the Council of Ministers - King Faisal's son Saud, who by all accounts would have risen to the top by ability alone, and Fahd's son Faisal, whose appointment as President of Youth Welfare is more questionable.

Although the Council of Ministers has long included commoners, the positions of real power, involving defence, security and high spending, as well as major decisions, have always been confined to members of the royal family. Other princes are provincial governors and members of the armed forces, while King Faisal's son Turki heads the Foreign Intelligence Service.

Changes and far-reaching decisions are made only when they are absolutely necessary - that is the well-worn Saudi way. Major cabinet reshuffles are rare. Even when Abdullah moved up one place to Crown Prince when Khaled died last June, he remained Commander of the National Guard.

At the end of April, however, the lacklustre Minister of Information, Mr Muhammad Abdu Yamani, was summarily dismissed and his place taken by a former ambassador to Lebanon, Mr Ali al-Shaer.

The following week Mr Ibrahim al-Angari, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs since 1975, was named Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, and Mr Muhammad Ali al-Fayez, former director-general of the General Organization for Social Insurance, succeeded him.

Mr Angari's new appointment was perhaps the most interesting. The post has been vacant for three years, and Prince Mubarak had been acting minister during that time, perhaps because the family just could not agree on a replacement. This ministry was one of the big spenders and had therefore always been regarded as a "royal" post.

In Saudi terms the fact that a commoner is now in charge of it is an important change, and it remains to be seen whether it heralds a trend towards more commoners in the Council of Ministers.



Football crowds at a Riyadh sports stadium show the impact of the outside world on one of the most conservative societies

It was Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, the country's founder, who decreed that the throne should pass to each of his sons in turn in order of seniority, rather than from father to son. Although the principle of primogeniture is not the sole criterion, unwavering respect for seniority is part of the structure of the House of Saud and it is generally accepted that a prince is not passed over unless there are compelling reasons for doing so.

Muhammad, Nasir and Sa'ad, all older brothers of Fahd, opted to forgo their chances and there are doubtless others who would be considered unsuitable for kingship.

Nevertheless 32 of Ibn Saud's sons are still living and the youngest, Hamud, is only about 36. If Ibn Saud's strategy is followed to the letter - and custom in that part of the world suggests it will be - then the throne could still be held by the same generation of princes in 30 years' time.

The aim was to avoid further family squabbles, but the result will be to move the power base progressively further away from the senior members of the next generation. This, too, could create growing family tension and only postpone a decision about a new line of succession when the last of Fahd's generation has gone.

Many Saudis privately resent the fact that royal privilege and royal incomes are extended to all members of the royal family, which numbers at least 5,000. In 15 years that number could treble, and the process has, they claim, got out of hand.

By limiting royal privilege to close relatives of the king, the argument runs, the problem could be contained. One way of doing this is to change the direction of the line of descent from brother-to-brother to father-to-father - a revolutionary step that the House of Saud would undoubtedly reject out of hand unless it could be done

gently, for example by decreeing that the change would only begin with unborn descendants of the family. Critics would doubtless see such a move as prevarication.

The al-Saud do not like to take action when faced with a critical problem. They prefer to do nothing in the hope that it will go away. Fahd sees his regime's security in terms of continuing change under the control of his family, but history suggests that the kind of change that is likely to curb the power, wealth or activities of the royal family will be so delayed that it is unlikely to take effect before the reign of a King Abdullah or a King Sultan (the next two brothers in line). If Fahd keeps his hand on the nation's pulse, he may well feel he will need to look at changes that go beyond vague promises of a consultative assembly as the new mood of belt-tightening takes effect.

Geoffrey Weston

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FRIDAY PAGE

# Suffering in silence

Incest, the most taboo of sexual relationships, is in the news. Penny Perrick discovers how widespread it is

Two novels, a newspaper series, a magazine survey, a radio programme, all on the subject of incest and all within a few weeks of each other. Such a coordinated effort to break the taboo of silence on the issue must surely be more than coincidental.

Dr Tony Baker, a child psychiatrist and a member of Bascap (the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect) agreed that so much interest was not coincidental. "There is a kind of pattern to suggest that there are periods when attention is focused on homosexuality and those when it is fastened on child abuse. A hundred years ago, laws against homosexuality were harsh but child prostitution was accepted. Today, homosexuality is legalised but there is a growing demand for something to be done about incest and child abuse."

Few cases of incest are reported, fewer still prosecuted; as a result it is impossible to know how widespread the problem is. An American study indicated that the sexual abuse of children ran to about 360,000 cases a year of which 38 per cent were incest. In this country, the latest Crisis Line, which offers confidential help and advice to victims, has dealt with 500 cases since the beginning of the year. The survey Dr Baker conducted for 19 magazine was directed at people who had not suffered abuse as well as at those who had. More than 3,000 female readers aged between 13 and 35 responded to the questionnaire. Of these, more than a third (36 per cent) had been subjected to sexual abuse as children and adolescents. Half of these cases were incestuous experiences.

A high incidence of child abuse seems to be one of the master aspects of our society, and Dr Baker thinks that this is partly due to more people "giving up on marriage and forming reconstituted families. Children get 'triangled' in to parental conflict which may put them at risk. There's some evidence to show that a child is better off in a happy single-parent home than as a pawn between two unhappy partners. Another cause might be that heavy unemployment provides greater opportunity for men who are lonely, jobless and have financial problems to find themselves alone with a child."

Exposure to child pornography, even to advertising which shows

children as alluringly cute, can lead to an increase in child abuse. "Everyone", says Dr Baker, "can be eroticised by children but most of us can keep it in control." Yet we seem more than keen to give children what Dr Baker calls "a licence to be grown-up", presenting little girls with toy make-up sets and encouraging five year olds to cavort like midget Olivia Newton-Johns in the dreadful Channel 4 series *Mini Pops*.

While researching this article I spoke to 11 victims of child abuse, who had nothing in common except a kind of quiet sadness. It was impossible to imagine any of them as having been boisterous, hot-tempered, or impossible to control children. These people were surely pleasant children, well-mannered and orderly, the kind who are entrusted by schoolteachers to hand out exercise books and pencils. Could it be that the "good" child was the one most at risk? Dr Baker said there was evidence that girls who lost their temper easily were less likely to be abused. "Those that are abused often don't have that feeling of support and strength in their immediate network that would allow them to resist attack. The long-term effect of this is that they become permanently resigned to things, the sort of person who thinks that things happen to them, whether they want them or not."

## Joanna's story

Father would lurk around the stairs waiting for me

Joanna is 43, deputy head-mistress of a South London comprehensive school. Her father was away in the Army until she was four years old.

He'd had a bad time in the war, although even now I'm not sure what really happened to him in France. What had kept him going was the thought of his wife and baby at home. He was away for four years and during that time my mother must have changed a lot, like so many women who have to support a child on their own. She got a job, put me in a nursery and quite enjoyed herself. When my father came back, I think she found it a bit inconvenient - she'd made her own life by then.



I was the light of his life. He got a job in the local council but he wasn't at all interested in it, he just wanted to get home to me. He always seemed to have more time than my mother, time to do jigsaws with me or take me to feed the ducks. It was fine until I went to the grammar school and got absorbed into the life there.

Instead of going straight home, I'd go back to see with one of the other girls so we would do our homework together. It was then that he started coming into my room at night. He'd always kissed and cuddled me a lot, given me my bath when I was younger and brushed my hair, so at first what he was doing didn't seem much more. What I felt about him most was that he was becoming a nuisance, which I suppose is what my mother had felt too.

As I got older, I could fend him off some of the time. I told my mother when I was 18, just before I left home to go to a teachers' training college. I suppose I felt that in some way it was her fault and she

ought to see that daddy was all right once I'd gone. She just didn't believe me. She had a terrible temper and told me that she never wanted to see me again. The college I went to had a students' hostel.

We'd sit on our beds on Sunday afternoons, painting our toenails and, after a while, we started to talk to each other about our lives. You wouldn't believe it but there were 45 girls in that hostel and 11 of them had been the victims of incest.

I married when I was 19. As soon as Hugh told me that he loved me, I told him about what had happened and he said, "OK, that's the worst thing that's ever going to happen to you, now let's get on with the rest of your life."

You could say that I've emerged unscathed, human resilience is a wonderful thing. Before my two daughters were born I had five miscarriages. There was no apparent physical reason; I think I was just scared to start a family of my own because my experience of family life was so traumatic.

I wish I could say that my own experience has taught me how to recognize other children at risk.

## Mac's story

I wanted to tell but I didn't have the words

Mac is a 29-year-old electrician. He grew up in Dewsbury, Yorkshire, where his parents ran a small newsagent's. His mother's younger half-brother lodged with them and worked in the shop and began to abuse Mac from the time the boy was nine years old.

I was one of five children, so my mother had her work cut out looking after us and helping dad run the shop. I was in the middle between two older brothers and two younger sisters but, as far as I know, he never touched any of the others, maybe because my brothers were quite big lads and I was always a bit of a runt until I was 14. I often wanted to tell my mum about it but, it's a funny thing, I just didn't have the words to explain what he was doing to me.

It was years before I knew there was a word to say that he was "homosexual" and words to describe what he did - "child abuse" and "incest". I think, in a way, I wanted to protect my mum too. She was so pleased that he took an interest in me. I think she thought that he was sorry he couldn't have children of his own and so had sort of adopted me instead.

If she knew I wanted something, like a bike, which she couldn't afford, she'd drop a lot of heavy hints to Ralph and, sure enough, he'd turn up with it. "There now", she'd say, "Aren't you a lucky boy?" It stopped when my eldest brother started work and could bring some money home, which meant that we didn't need Ralph as a lodger any more.

He still worked in the shop but I became good at staying away from home until it closed and he couldn't very well hang around after closing time without it looking a bit odd.

My wife is older than I am; she had been married before and had grown-up children before she met me. There's a lot of reasons why I don't want children of my own; one of them is because I really like the privacy of having a fair-sized house just for the two of us. The other is that if we had kids, I'd want to be with them every minute of the day. I'd be frightened that if I wasn't around someone would try to take advantage.

Penny Perrick

## MEDICAL BRIEFING

### Beating the beta blocker

The house of Maurice Ashley, historian, biographer, former Times journalist, sometime editor of the *Listener*, has been unusually silent over the winter. His cold blue hands have been numb to type. A hundred miles away a middle aged angler who has fished the fen drains for 30 years has been away from his usual spot: not only were his hands too senseless with cold to put on the bait, but his blue-black nose and feet frightened his wife. The historian and the angler have something in common, both were taking beta blockers.

Beta blockers are valuable drugs as well as being effective in their main use of lowering blood pressure and easing angina, they are mildly sedative. There is evidence, too, that some of them protect against sudden death from coronary heart attacks. So useful have they become that doctors have tended to overlook the numerous side-effects. Vivid dreams and insomnia are troublesome; others, such as indigestion and fatigue are worrying, and finally wheezing and loss of ability to exercise can be hazardous.

In the *British Medical Journal* of April 2 Professor Alisdair Breckenridge of Liverpool University reviews the problems and stresses that though the therapeutic efficacy may be similar between the different drugs of the group, the side-effects can differ. These variations can be utilized for the benefit of the patient. Doctors now have to weigh up these factors when prescribing because one patient may find life intolerable if a certain treatment fails where beta blockers have previously succeeded; others may object to different side-effects.

A change of treatment has now restored the chatter of the typewriter to the Ashley household; next year, too, the angler will be back in his wellies beneath a green umbrella.

### Inside story

Flexible endoscopes, the tubes for looking into the human body (Medical Briefing, May 6) are in the news again. Last week doctors from King's College Hospital explained how it was now possible to use one to investigate the baby while it was still in the mother's womb. As one new use after another is found for these, countless lives are being saved through accurate diagnosis, but it seems that neither doctors nor patients are aware that the inventor is alive and has not received full recognition. In fact, possibly too much credit is being given to the wrong man. The

flexible endoscope is frequently held to be John Logie Baird's idea. It is true that in 1928 he took out a patent on a fibre optic tube in connection with his television research, but, experts say, his proposals were in no sense a fibre optic endoscope and he had no idea of using his device for medical investigations.

In 1951 Professor H. H. Hopkins of Reading University met the late Dr Hugh Gainsborough of St George's at a dinner party. Dr Gainsborough expounded on the advances which would follow if the rigid illuminated tube could be replaced by a flexible one. In June, 1952, the Royal Society made a grant for this work, and 18 months later Professor Hopkins announced in *Nature* that he had devised an image transmitting fibre optic bundle.

By chance Professor Hopkins's visit to a patient agent coincided with the courtesy call of an elderly former partner who remembered that Logie Baird had patented an invention which might be confused with the new work. He therefore did not patent his own work and also felt that he should pay some tribute to Baird's work in his original article. His generosity has meant ever thereafter he has not received the credit he deserves.

### Going to the dogs

Forty years ago in a north Norfolk church the local landowner showed his patrician disdain for the vicar's feelings, by striding down the aisle with his labradors at his heel.

On June 18 dogs will once again be in an Anglican church. At the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Addenbrookes Hospital, Cambridge, there will be a demonstration of the use of a hearing dog for the deaf.

The help given by dogs to the blind is well known, but the idea that they can hear for the deaf is new. A dog can be trained to give warning of a bang on the door or a burglar, it can even be trained to fetch a deaf mother to a crying baby.

The Royal National Institute for the Deaf, who think that the dangers and social isolation of the deaf are little appreciated, will begin to train the first British dogs following a scheme already established in the United States. In America the relationship between the dog and the patient has been symbiotic: in helping to give independence to the deaf it has also provided a home for a stray dog. Most of those trained were chosen from dog pounds.

Dr Thomas Stuttatford

Medical correspondent

## Tanzi, as tough as old Toyah

Claire Luckham's play with its feminist message gets a touch of gloss

Nobby Clark



Toyah, a tiny Tanzi in the ring, with Claire Luckham

From outside the Mermaid Theatre, you might be forgiven for thinking it was a wrestling hall. In the foyer a poster with flashing lights proclaims "For the first time in the ring - a fight between a man and a woman."

With the arrival of the rock singer Toyah Wilcox, Claire Luckham's play with a feminist message about a woman wrestler, *Trafford Tanzi* has received an injection of cash a gloss that has taken it a long way from its pub beginnings five years ago.

The play sees life as a wrestling contest, with its heroine growing from battered baby to queen of the wrestling ring in eight rounds. The final fight of her life is against her husband, with the loser to spend the rest of his/her life as a housewife.

In some ways the audience is now attracted to see the original pub audience, albeit more well heeled, than the feminists and fringe theatre-goers who adopted the play when it was at the Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh, and the Lyric Studio, Hammersmith.

It is an astute move by the producers, Bill Freedman, Howard Panter and Naim Attallah, to broaden the appeal of the show. At the Saturday show I attended, there was a different atmosphere from the feminist-dominated gathering six months earlier. Family parties, married couples, a few cheerful wrestling aficionados and a handful of those Toyah fans who could afford the night out. Any fears that the show was being pitched to the converted were dispelled by a jovial gentleman who kept leaping from his seat and taking of his jacket to shape up to Toyah.

Claire Luckham has watched with some trepidation her baby grow from its beginnings as a pub show for the Liverpool Everyman company in 1978.

"We were incredibly ambitious musically and used arias from *Carmen* like *The Toreador*. The first time we took it on a pub tour, the director, Anne Louise Wakefield, softened the ending by showing Tanzi 'winning' rather than 'winning'. The feeling was that most of the audience would be masculine and that they would be deeply upset about a play that showed a woman winning outright, so we had a super generous Tanzi, saying that not only could she win, she could go one better and share. I think we were over-sensitive."

Most of the pub audiences understood wrestling convention and though predominantly male, they sided with Tanzi and treated her husband, Dean Rebel, as the villain. It was only when we got to the Traverse and a more sophisticated audience that people started shouting for Dean. After a two-year break, the show was

revived for Leicester and Manchester, where Chris Bond, Claire's husband, directed it in its present form. By this time the songs were pop-based, with Tanzi's mum singing that gruesome country and western number, *Stand By Your Man*. After the 1981 Edinburgh Festival, there was tour of Birmingham and the Belfast Festival, then the Lyric Studio, Hammersmith, where Howard Panter and his fellow producers snapped it up.

Toyah Wilcox, with her foxy red and black tipped hair and painted eyes is a changed Tanzi from the excellent "bum more down to earth" Toyah Kerbow, year, and I was in an emotional rut. I saw Tanzi first just over a month ago, and I was stunned.

Despite her height of 4ft 11 ins, Toyah doesn't look like Tanzi, who is easily put down. "For a feminist show there seem to be a lot of sexist remarks flying about", she says. "I got those remarks with my band, and I got them here as well. We've also had one or two incredibly aggressive women literally picking a fight. But most people are married couples looking as if they've dressed to go to the Aldwych, they enjoy it because it lets them air their views about each other without having an argument."

I took on the role mainly because I wanted to go back to the stage. I hadn't acted for two years, and I was in an emotional rut. I saw Tanzi first just over a month ago, and I was stunned.

I've always had the firm opinion that women are equal to men, if not better, and I've never felt threatened by men, but this is the first feminist play I've taken part in. Of course, I hope its message gets through to my fans, because it expresses very much what I've always felt. If a man starts threatening me, I give him what for!

Since I began doing this show, quite a few offers have come in to do with wrestling - a promoter wanted me to take on a professional male wrestler, but there's no way I would do that. Once out of this theatre away from its feminist viewpoint, wrestling is seen by audiences as a sexual thing. Here the women balance out the men, and it feels safe."

The costumes, too, have altered since the early shows. Toyah wears a dashing print leotard, rather than the more homely red and white striped number of her predecessors. Dad has left his belt and braces behind and is now dressed in red satin jacket and leotard. The change to a more cartoon-like image is viewed with some scepticism by Claire Luckham, who feels there is a danger of losing the audience's involvement if the characters are less realistic.

"You've got to evolve - you can't regurgitate what may have worked two years ago", argues Howard Panter. "As long as you remain true to the story and the politics of it, you have to consider the talents of a new group of actors. They, together with the new director, Danny Hillier, have worked out what is appropriate for them. But you can recognize the characters from the previous production. It's still Dad, even if it's a flasher Dad."

The producers, who have taken over the running of the theatre's restaurant and bars from the Mermaid Trust, are trying to pull in city workers from the area around and encourage them to treat the place as their local.

Toyah's name may have brought in a wider, slightly younger audience, but, with seat prices ranging from £4.50 to £9.50, the Mermaid had not yet been flooded with her fans. I saw two evident fans with "Toyah" on their jackets in the theatre, compared with around 20 hanging about patiently at the stage door.

"They saving up", said Toyah. "They'll come and see it in the summer."

Clare Colvin

### Correction

In the article about Angela Walder (April 22) the phrase "a volatile anaesthetic doesn't get in the bloodstream" should have read "stay in the bloodstream".

THE TIMES

## Tomorrow

START THE WEEKEND WITH THE PAPER THAT INFORMS, STIMULATES, AMUSES AND PROVOKES

### ELECTION JUNE 83

Frank Johnson on the campaign trail; Geoffrey Smith's informed comment; constituency profiles of what the voters think

● Sport: Can relegated Brighton find cup glory at Wembley? Stuart Jones reports

● The Chelsea Flower Show: Inside view of how to make your garden grow



● Travel: Mauritius - land of rare flora and fauna; the other Athens

● Family Money: Are you fully covered by your travel insurance? Safety abroad with your cash

### Plus

The best news coverage from home and abroad; the top gardening column; Values: unveiling summer weddings; cider - the summer drink; video cassettes; critics' choice of what's happening in the arts



# THE TIMES DIARY

## Braine storm

Sir Bernard Braine, whose role in securing the release of the Czech dissident playwright Vaclav Havel I described in March, has now been refused a visa to visit Czechoslovakia. Braine, now seeking reelection in Castle Point, is naturally disappointed, but the Czech ambassador, Dr Zdenek Cernik, has caused to feel distinctly uncomfortable. Cernik has seen Braine twice, even entertained him to lunch, and sent his political counsellor to the House of Commons personally with the visa application forms for Braine to sign. It looks rather a gaffe to have gone so far in cultivating an MP his masters seem so scared of.

## Walkabouts!

Michael Foot's dog Dizzy goes on the campaign trail next week. He will join Foot's wife, Jill Craigie, on her solo sorties in the marginal constituencies. Dizzy has been firmly banned from accompanying his master by party aides, who say that the extra four legs would be more than Foot could cope with.

## Right direction

While Margaret Thatcher is going to the country, her former head of public relations, David Boddy is also out of town. That is the name of the countryside magazine to edit which he left Tory Central Office in February. Thatcher will have little cause for complaint in the first issue of the defector's publication, out today. The featured columnist is Paul Johnson, a defector in the right direction as far as the PM is concerned. The Christian polemicist comes down hard on the fanatical end of "green" activism. "There is no arguing with such people," he writes, "who want a fight and for whom the struggle itself has become far more important than the end they claim to seek." I expect a column from the lady herself when her particular struggle is over.



Here is Margaret Thatcher as a soft old sweetie. Simmons bakery in Hatfield is selling creditably lifelike portraits of the party leaders fashioned in marzipan, and I thought to photograph them for you. Sadly, under our are lights the Prime Minister visibly melted. The effect, I am afraid, is rather as if she has had her teeth out. However, she still tasted quite nice when I bit her head off.

## Scotch missed

Some people have their priorities right. Lady Seear, the Liberal life peer, has written to the parliamentary press gallery to say that a whisky producers' reception is still on for June 8, despite the election. There is even an added attraction. As Lady Seear writes: "Naturally the ministers and members who usually attend our reception will be otherwise engaged."

## Pillow talk

Sir Roy Strong, director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, gave an unintended insight into the institution when publicly showing off the magnificently restored Speaker's Bed to the retiring Speaker, George Thomas. "This," Strong declared pointing at the bed, "symbolizes what goes on in this building every day of the week."

## Nuts to follow

I am glad to see from our letters columns that *Times* readers are interested in eating grey squirrels, because I have a recipe. It is for squirrel stew and comes from a Forestry Commission cookery book. *Forest Fare* dredges pieces of squirrel in seasoned flour, brown well, add onion and minced parsley, a cup of milk or light cream, and simmer for 10 minutes. Serve with a dash of paprika, fluffy rice, carrots, coleslaw, hot rolls and quince jelly. "It is a pity with so many of these animals introduced in Britain that they are not eaten more often," the book says, adding: "You will find that they are very delicious." Of course, first you have to catch your squirrel.

## Not out yet

There may be new hope for England's cricket. Jay Watson, aged 17, from the King's School, Peterborough, won first prize as Young Engineer at the International Science and Engineering Fair in Albuquerque, New Mexico, with a cricket bowling machine he built.

Andy Capp is in disgrace. For years northerners have debated whether Reg Smyth's heavy drinking strip cartoon hero dined down Newcastle Brown, Cameron's Strongarm or Federation Bitter. Now he turns up on posters allegedly putting away pints of Heineken lager. I do not believe it, and nor, I am sure, will anybody in the north.

PHS

# But what does a vote really buy?

David Watt examines the fine print of the party manifesto

Hands up those who know why the Government proposes, if re-elected, to amend the Civil Defence Act 1948? Which party rejects the negative philosophy of the Serpell Report? Who intends to repeal the Payment of Debt Act?

The blank incomprehension of the entire class suggests that party manifestos do not make the kind of homework that actually gets done. It is doubtful if one in a thousand voters reads even his own party's manifesto. Election addresses and other leaflets probably do better and may get a cursory skim through before being consigned to duty as firelighters or paper darts.

And yet the manifesto matters. For one thing people obviously do get at least at second hand from press and media, a general idea from them of the tone of each party's campaign. The opening chord that each strikes has echoes that last all three weeks. But secondly - and in this respect their importance has increased in recent years - manifestos form, as it were, the only contractual basis for the famous "mandate" to which our polarized politicians increasingly appeal.

In the far-off days of consensus politics it didn't matter too much what was in the fine print. It was the main lines of policy and the one or two major differences between the parties that counted. Nowadays the parties must be dealt with in the same spirit as mail order firms. You had better read right to the end.

Scrutiny of this year's manifestos with these factors in mind is not an uplifting occupation. The "fine print" approach yields disappointingly little from either of the two major parties. The Labour docu-

ment comes relatively clean about what the next Labour government proposes to do. It is simply a question of ploughing one's way through from quiting the EEC to subsidising angling, and from the abolition of the House of Lords to the semi-abolition of the City of London.

The trouble is that this is only "enabling" legislation, so to speak. It sets the outer limit of the mandate but does not say what is actually going to happen - Mr Healey, Mr Shore and Mr Hattersley assure us that a lot of the barmier items will be lost in practice. But which ones, and can we be sure? The prospectus is reduced to a shambles by these uncertainties.

The Conservative pronouncement, on the other hand, takes refuge for the most part in broad generalities. There are, of course, the "hard" decisions, such as the abolition of the GLC and the further attack on trade union privileges; but the general picture is "more of the same only even more resolute". It will be claimed, no doubt, that this confers a mandate of some kind, if Mrs Thatcher is returned to power. But if so it will be of a dangerously far-reaching kind.

We are not told what the further cost in unemployment might have to be under the Conservative economic strategy; we have no idea how much privatization is to take place, what is meant by the pledge

not to dismantle the welfare state given that the general thrust of the prospectus is to relegate public provision of services to a secondary, if not tertiary role.

Turning from the substance to the mood music, one can only say that all three of the manifestos are pretty dreary productions. The Conservative one gets off to a bad start for me by having no name. Gone are the mellifluous titles that have echoed down the years like *Papal Bulls* - "This is the Road", "Prosperity with a Purpose", "Action and not Words", we are hectoringly confronted with "The Conservative Manifesto 1983". This is not an entirely frivolous complaint since I feel that the new style is supposed to convey the same "robust" image that Mrs Thatcher is attempting to project.

The trouble is that it all rings more than a little hollow. Mrs Thatcher's introductory remark - "Britain has recovered her confidence and self-respect. We have regained the regard and admiration of other nations" - may have some merit as a piece of *Coups-ism* but is still dubious as a statement of the present British frame of mind and, in my observation, it is pure wishful thinking in relation to the outside world. All the opinion polls show that unemployment is overwhelmingly regarded by the electorate as the main issue of the campaign. And if Mrs Thatcher is re-elected it will

not be because the British people believed that the brief success of the Falklands campaign wipes out the failure of three million unemployed, but because they have been convinced that her prescriptions are more likely than her rivals to reduce unemployment in the long run.

In this difficult endeavour she is rescued by the other manifestos. The Labour document's general tone is whining, hysterical and extreme - and too diffuse. The famous "Emergency Programme for Action to Create Jobs" is full of promises that may or may not be admirable in themselves but have no real relevance to the task in hand, such as uprating the pension, improving child care, abolishing the House of Lords. This manifesto is not neutral in the campaign, it is a positive liability to its authors.

As for the Alliance's prospectus, what can one say? There is more real argument and there are more thought-out policies in it than in its competitors. It scores, in other words, on "fine print" approaching. Its defects are on the atmospheric level. It is too long, too earnest - and above all too moderate.

What strikes one most about the political climate at the beginning of this campaign is the general loss of nerve - the assumption that consensus is not only unattainable but is actually undesirable. In such an atmosphere the Alliance document, with its opposite assumptions, is bound to fall on deaf ears. The question is whether the public will get tired enough, of the poles of the argument to be ready by polling day to listen to something else.

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Deng: 79 years old but he has no time for the grizzled old revolutionaries from the Mao Tse-Tung era.

# Peking's new revolution: the old guard makes way for youth and expertise

Up-to-the-minute Chinese careerists are watching Gu Xiluan. She is the peasant's daughter who last week became China's first female provincial governor. With six male vice-governors to command, she is now in charge of Jiangsu, the country's richest agricultural and industrial province.

Gu is a symbol of the deep and sweeping changes in the party, bureaucracy and the army initiated by Deng Xiaoping, at 79 still China's preeminent leader. Thousands of Dengists, who remember Mao Tse-tung chiefly as an Elderly wrecker, have moved into controlling positions in the last three years. By Chinese communist standards, Deng's new methods are gentle: neither has taken the place of death or detention and Deng's own comeback from the humiliations of the Cultural Revolution.

What is known in the West about Gu Xiluan indicates what Deng wants his officials to be like. Peking's propaganda machine never discloses personal details about its leaders - until they are smashed. Therefore, we know little about Gu, a technical school graduate, except for her sterling curriculum vitae, which includes a time as a factory worker. Deng wants to promote young people and she is only 46, a stripling by Politburo standards, according to which anyone under 70 is described, with a straight face, as youthful.

Gu is also a specialist, and Deng wants plenty of those. He is through with the grizzled revolutionaries, the Red, Red Sun of Mao shining in their hearts, who can turn their hands to anything. Deng holds them responsible for China's backwardness. They must be shouldered aside, not too roughly nowadays, if

To Fleet Street's shame the most devastatingly effective pages on the election so far were not produced by journalists and did not even appear in newspaper editorial columns. They were the double-page advertisements devised and placed in most newspapers by the Tories' propagandists - sorry, advertising agency - Saatchi and Saatchi.

The powerful punch that the ad delivered below Labour's belt owed everything to the simple formula and savage irony pioneered by the *Daily Mirror* in the campaigning Cudlip era. Those two Knights of the Right, Sir David English (*Daily Mail*) and Sir Larry Lamb (*Daily Express*) must have kicked themselves for not having thought of something similar; it would have made a thundering front-page editorial.

The advertisement sat less happily in the non-Tory press, of course, but the *Daily Mirror* did the decent democratic thing by writing a leader attacking the ad with one hand and taking money with the other. Publish and be paid.

It did not take Saatchi long before they became an election issue again. In 1979 they were exposed for using Young Conservatives to pose as unemployed workers in a dole queue for the campaign poster "Labour isn't working". On Wednesday the *Daily Mirror* splashed a story (a follow-up from the previous day's *Guardian*) that actors and actresses were to be paid to appear as doctors and nurses in a party political broadcast. Somewhat inquisitively, Saatchi chose as their location a hospital shut down by Tory spending cuts.

This kind of damaging revelation can influence voters far more than manifestos. It has certainly lived up to what until now has been a rather dull campaign.

The *Mail* fired the first shots on

China is to become modern by the year 2000, with quadrupled production and a per capita annual income of £500.

Gu Xiluan is also in good standing as a central committee member and former secretary of the Jiangsu provincial party. Deng, since his first great 1977 speech, after his post-Cultural Revolution comeback, has laboured to dim the party's image as the begetter of chaos and violence. There are too many cynics like the young man who jumped on a table in Peking during last year's local elections and received an ovation for stalling his primary qualification: not a single member of his family for three generations had been in the Communist Party.

Deng wants to "rectify" the party, half of whose 39 million members he accuses of having entered during the Gang of Four period, 1966-1976. In the past rectifications tended to be brutal. But at the twelfth party congress, last September, Deng's protegee Hu Yaobang, the party's leader made clear that death was no longer on the cards. All 39 million card-carriers would be reassessed over the next three years, and the good ones readmitted.

Deng's new men and women are appearing everywhere. China's official news agency says that in the last six weeks alone, in China's 29 provinces and major municipalities, 200 appointments have been made to key positions. This is a large shift. Most of the new cadres truly are young, many have had little political experience and a third are college graduates, unlike their predecessors. This non-violent purge is a vast relief to China's bureaucrats, who, since Mao's first "rectification" seven years before he came to power

in 1949, have experienced abrupt dismissal, often followed by execution, humiliation, and internal exile. Such provincial shifts, however, are only the most recent moves in Deng's patient drive to chivy those he considers unqualified or ill-disciplined from office. In 1980 he slid four central figures into oblivion but not disgrace. One of them was the potentially dangerous former commander of Mao's praetorian guard, who in 1976 had organized the arrest of the Gang of Four.

It took longer to pull the props from under Chairman and Premier Hua Guofeng, who claimed to be Mao's personally designated heir. But Hua, even in his disgrace for fostering his own personality cult and overheating the economy, fingers on the central committee, a demonstration that Deng will not destroy his enemies so long as they behave.

In a series of addresses since 1977, Deng has savaged the bureaucracy for over-staffing, paper-shuffling, and the inability to use the telephone to speed up decisions.

The army is not immune to Deng's scrutiny, either. He was on the 1934 Long March and played a leading role as a commissar during the civil war. During his Cultural Revolution exile, he was sheltered by his old comrades. But Deng has made it plain that the once-battered People's Liberation Army can be criticized and even abused. In the 1979 "defensive" counter-attack against Vietnam, the Chinese forces were revealed to be decades out of date.

The days are over, Deng said in 1980, when "dare-to-die" soldiers could win battles by firing their rifles, brandishing bayonets, and hurling grenades. He cut the army's

annual budget by more than 10 per cent for three years running. A thousand headquarters officers retired last year, including 400 generals. Another 10,000 disappeared from the Peking regiments alone. If this is representative of the entire army it will have lost 10 to 15 per cent of its officers and NCOs within 12 months. Officers will no longer float up from the sturdiest riffraff; all commissions from now on are to be earned in military academies.

Trying to heave China into the second half of the twentieth century is the aging Deng's final task. He has had to jettison much of the Maoist faith that led him to pursue the economic policies of the 1950s, which he now admits kept China poor and underdeveloped.

For those in favour with the modernizing leadership, however, and who remember past reversals in policy, the problem will be whether Deng Xiaoping can resist the traditional urge to treat critics as subversives and counter-revolutionaries. In early 1980, they will recall, he told an audience of 10,000 cadres, in the past, the party simply issued one call, and the central committee uttered one sentence, and the whole country acted accordingly. "It was not appropriate," Deng said, to air views freely, and those who thwarted the party by doing so would "not remain at large."

Even without the threat of old-fashioned killing, such old-fashioned Dengist sentiments may explain why more than 1,000 of the 10,000 elite Chinese students in the United States, acquiring the skills Deng knows China needs, have asked for political asylum.

Jonathan Mirsky

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# What a wonderful hatchet job

## Christopher Ward

on the press and the election

Monday with an exclusive story that the Japanese Nissan car company would scrap plans to build a £500m plant in Britain, with jobs for 35,000, if Labour won. Nissan quickly denied the story, but the harm was done. The *Mail* picked up some free publicity on radio and TV and put the boot in again the following day with a "Car Jobs Row" splash, the only row being the denial of its original story. The *Guardian* accused the *Mail* of being "militant in the pursuit of mendacity", although what it probably meant, I suspect, was "mendacious in the pursuit of militancy".

For the more politically motivated papers - notably the *Mail*, the *Express* and the *Mirror* - propaganda is the name of the game. At the *Mail*, Paul Johnson is temporarily in charge of smears, sneers and innuendoes; the *Express* has George Gale building up a head of steam. Meanwhile reporters tramp the streets searching for nuggets of news favourable to the party their paper supports or scare stories damaging to the opposition.

Yesterday's *Express* conjured up the spectre of 1926 on its front page ("1926 All Over Again") and of 1984 on page nine. ("Shirley's fear of

PUTTING A CROSS IN THE LABOUR BOX IS THE SAME AS SIGNING THIS PIECE OF PAPER.

1. I hereby give up the right to vote for any party in the forthcoming election which is not the Labour Party.  
2. I empower the Labour Party to take this out of my name, even though my job may be one of the 25 million which depend on Labour's victory in 1983.

3. I agree that this is the only way to ensure that the Labour Party will win the election and that I will support the Labour Party in the event of its victory.

a Labour 1984"). The *Mirror* managed to give the impression that the death of a jobless teenager who fell from an electricity pylon after sniffing glue could be laid at the door of No 10.

Seeking out the good news has been developed into an art form. On its election pages on Wednesday, the *Express* reported the results of a Gallup poll wholly unrelated to politics, under the headline, "We're so healthy and happy, too!" and "Miserable husbands are a vanishing breed" as if Mrs Thatcher had succeeded in curing cancer, depression and meanness at a stroke.

For readers of more than one newspaper, these must indeed be confusing times. On the day *The Guardian* reported "Decline in

output dampens hopes of recovery", the *Express* was proclaiming gleefully "Tory cheer as output takes off" while the *Daily Telegraph* steered a middle course of "Production rises by 1.4 per cent". Both the *Mail* and the *Express* described Labour's manifesto as "a fraudulent prospectus", which is precisely how the *Mirror* described the Conservative manifesto yesterday.

Curiously, the *Mirror*, Labour's traditional supporter, not only made no comment at all on Labour's manifesto in its leader column but reported the contents in two brief, dismissive columns. An oversight? Hardly. For me it had all the significance that the dog who didn't bark in the night had for Sherlock Holmes. It is indicative of the *Mirror's* deep discomfort and lack of conviction for Labour policies in this election.

The *Guardian* also is adopting an independent line, with no commitment to give its readers its verdict either now or later. With several SDP candidates on the staff, there must be considerable pressure to come out in favour of the Alliance, but all the indications from within are that *The Guardian* will remain fiercely Don't Know. This is no bad thing since we must assume that *Guardian* readers are quite capable of making up their own minds when presented with all the facts, which the paper is certainly giving them.

A number of Fleet Street journalists have a personal interest in the outcome of the election. If there is an Alliance landslide and half-a-dozen *Guardian* journalist win seats, there will be some good jobs going in Farrington Road.

The author was until recently editor of the *Daily Express*.

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# Shadow on a Tory bottoms up

JUNE 24 83

John Pardoe

There must have been quite a fluttering in the Conservative campaign dovecotes this week with the announcement that industrial output in March had fallen by 0.9 per cent. All election campaigns are susceptible to the announcement of official statistics. It is generally thought that Harold Wilson's defeat in 1970 dated from the announcement of surprisingly bad trade figures during the campaign. Ever since then official statistics have been regarded as electoral banana skins. Most politicians will already have ringed round in their diaries such dates as May 26 - final unemployment figures for April - and June 7 - wholesale price indices.

The March figures for industrial output were especially worrying for the Government because they were so unexpected. In recent months there has been a carefully managed barrage of "good" news on the economic front. The CBI, which has compensated for the loss of the Church of England as the Tory party at prayer by becoming the Tory party at dinner, has highlighted such optimistic views as it can find among its members. And never a day goes by without some minister telling us that there is light at the end of the tunnel or that things are looking up or any other of the 101 clichés beloved by would-be economic optimists. It is all extremely droll for those of us who know that the British economy is governed by a version of Sod's Law - if it can get worse it most certainly will.

Some of us still remember those hilarious occasions during the Heath government when Peter Walker, who was then Secretary of State for Industry, announced that Britain was on the verge of an economic miracle, and Mr Heath explained that our problems were the problems of success! In this respect at least Mrs Thatcher's government has not broken with good old Tory tradition. In November 1980 Sir Geoffrey Howe told us "the fall in output is bottoming out." In January 1981 Nigel Lawson announced "all the signs suggest that we have now more or less reached the bottom." In June 1981 Mrs Thatcher said "recession has just about reached the bottom."

The other reason why ministers believe in the myth of recovery is that they have been taught that there is a respectable theoretical reason to expect one. Just as they learnt from Sir Isaac Newton that what goes up must come down, so they have learnt from Milton Friedman that what goes down must come up. Unfortunately, or fortunately, Americans are much better at popular songs than at economics and in the words of one of their better ones "It ain't necessarily so."

The author, Liberal MP for Cornwall, North, 1966 to 1979, is a member of the Alliance campaign committee.

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Tomorrow: Jack Bruce-Gardyne

Philip Howard

# Westminster? Send them to Coventry

Democracy's ceremonial, its feast, its great function is the election; we know: we know. It's just that they seem to have had more fun at elections in the past. Elections at Loughshane were more taciturn. When Phineas Finn canvassed Lord Tulla, the Earl put him down very quickly: "We won't discuss politics, if you please, Mr Finn, because, as I have already said, I am throwing aside all political considerations." He then rambled on about the sins of his brother George, and the want of all proper pedigree on the part of the new Earl of Kilenara, before letting the Loughshane know that Phineas had his support, and ergo the seat.

Elections at Eastonswill were lush, you remember, scissable articles were remarkably cheap at all the public houses, and vans paraded the streets for the accommodation of voters who were seized with any temporary dizziness in the head - an epidemic which prevailed among the electors during the contest to a most alarming extent, and under the influence of which they might frequently be seen lying on the pavements in a state of utter insensibility.

According to Lemuel Gulliver, elections in the early eighteenth century were less partisan and frivolous. He described to the King of Brobdingnag a general election, and how the House of Commons were all principal gentlemen, freely picked and called out by the people themselves for their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation.

The king was not unduly impressed by Gulliver's account. At the end of it he observed: "I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin, that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."

It is conceivable that Swift was being satirical in his account of the magnanimity of contemporary elec-

tions. In politics outside fiction, the Middlesex election of 1727, the year after the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, was not notable for its public spirit. Middlesex was notorious for its rowdy and corrupt elections. The Whig candidate, Henry Barker, who had been given a hard time in the previous election by rude, unruly Tory multitudes, and set on by several clergymen, hired his own mob of about 100 at five shillings each at an alehouse, where they were issued with clubs.

Mr Barker was not confined to land forces only. "For that the captain of a certain man of war went by water to Brentford, and there landed a great number of his ship's crew, which he said, were there delivered for the service of Mr Barker." As usual at Brentford, various justices of the peace turned up at the polling booth to intimidate voters, and committed several whom they suspected of intending to vote the wrong way.

American elections are funnier than ours, because their presidents tend to be jokers. Lincoln's favourite election story concerned two Quaker ladies who were discussing Lincoln and Jefferson. "Why does he think so?" asked the second. "Because Jefferson is a praying man," said the first. "And so is Abraham a praying man," said the second. "Yes," said the first, "but the Lord will think Abraham is joking."

Ancient Athenian elections were more democratic than ours, notably in their use of law of ostracism, or giving the old heave-ho for ten years to politicians with whom they were bored. At one ostracism, Aristides the Just was said to have written his own name on a potsherd for an illiterate voter who told him that, although he did not know who Aristides was, he wanted him ostracized because he was fed up with hearing him called "the Just". Bring back ostracism, say I, and the House of Commons would be a quieter and wiser place.



Eastonswill, where the floating voter was awash

هكذا من راصل





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## BACKING FOR BEIRUT

The press conference at which the Syrian government was going to explain its attitude to the Israeli-Lebanese accord was postponed again yesterday for the third day running. For the second day running, the Syrian newspapers confined themselves to attacks on the Phalanges Libanaises (President Gemayel's party) rather than denying the legitimacy of the President himself and his government as they did on Tuesday. The Syrians are apparently still allowing traffic to pass in and out of the sector of Lebanon that they control, subject to a certain amount of harassment and delay. And the shelling of Beirut from Syrian-controlled territory has been in abeyance for the last ten days.

Among Arab governments only Libya and South Yemen, along with the Palestine Liberation Organization, are backing Syria's opposition to the agreement. Algeria, formerly a member of the "Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation", has come out on the Lebanese side. Doreen hope that President Assad, faced with such isolation, is having second thoughts; that his refusal to receive Mr Habib is a procedural gesture rather than an outright rejection of dialogue?

One must hope that at least, having rattled his sabre, Mr Assad is going to explore the diplomatic possibilities before deciding to draw it - before deciding, that is, either to complete the partition of Lebanon or to provoke an all-out war with Israel or to launch a new campaign of terror and assassinations.

ation against Lebanese leaders, or any combination of those options. If so, the moment of uncertainty must be seized and exploited by all true friends of Lebanon, in the hope that it can yet be turned to Lebanon's advantage. All reasonable inducements must be offered to get Syrian forces out of Lebanon, without any relaxation of the pressure now being applied.

America's instinct is, it seems, to offer inducements mainly in the form of further derogations from Lebanese sovereignty, seeking to match the concessions already made to Israel with corresponding ones to Syria while hinting that Syria, even without a military presence, can still exert great influence over Lebanese politics. But that approach is unfair to Lebanon and may be taken as insulting by Syria. Syria absolutely rejects any equation between her own position in Lebanon and that of Israel, and she needs no American advice on how to manipulate Lebanon's internal affairs.

Syria's reasonable grievances lie not in Lebanon at all but on the Golan Heights and in the wider regional context, embracing the Palestinian problem. Here her unhelpful reaction to the Reagan plan may seem to preclude any understanding with the United States. But her attitude may not prove immutable if America is willing to recognize her aspirations.

For some reason Syria and the Golan Heights were not mentioned in the Reagan plan, although assurances were apparently sent by diplomatic chan-

nels that the principles of the plan did apply to them. Such assurances do not have the same weight as a public statement on the record, and it was, striking that in March, when a national day greetings message from President Reagan specifically mentioned the Golan Heights, the fact was blazoned in the Syrian media.

Similarly, the plan's prescription for the West Bank and Gaza can be seen, and has been glossed by some authoritative American commentators, as an attempt to chart a path for Palestinian self-determination compatible with Israeli security. But the word "self-determination" is missing. A re-statement of the plan with clarifications on these two points might considerably modify the present tense atmosphere, especially if combined with a serious attempt to secure Soviet co-operation.

On the pressure side, what is missing at present is a strong reaffirmation of European views on Lebanese sovereignty, coupled with a strong reminder of Syria's obligation to respect it. Europe has never minced its words when it considers Israeli forces are where they ought not to be. Now that the recognized government of Lebanon has signed an agreement with Israel, and is asking for the withdrawal of Syrian and Palestinian forces, a strong statement of European support for its right to do both those things would surely be in order. The pious hopes expressed by Mr Pym in the Commons last week hardly go far enough.

## ROUT OF THE ROTARIANS

The British have never really taken to social science. Many of those who suspect that its practitioners and its results are either dotty or faintly subversive. Sir John Clapham, the eminent economic historian, in an official report in 1946 warned the Government against creating a Social Science Research Council as it would encourage "a premature crystallization of spurious orthodoxy".

In 1965 the first Wilson administration established such a council. Its detractors, who include High Tory thinkers like Sir Keith Joseph and Lord Beloff believe that the SSRC has been peddling spurious orthodoxy ever since. Sir Keith, as Secretary of State for Education and Science, very nearly killed it off. His junior minister, Mr William Waldegrave, another High Tory thinker who takes a more relaxed view of these things, persuaded Sir Keith to commission his old friend Lord Beloff to review the SSRC before the axe fell. Lord Beloff, as Mr Waldegrave well knew, did not sympathize with the Rotary Club view of social science.

Lord Beloff duly reported a year ago and recommended, give or take a minor reform or

two, that the SSRC should live. Sir Keith reluctantly concurred. Lord Beloff, however, left some important unfinished business. He took very seriously, a charge levelled in evidence to him by Lord Beloff, former Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at Oxford University. Lord Beloff told Lord Rothschild there was "so much dissatisfaction with the strong pro-TUC bias of the SSRC Industrial Relations Research Unit at Warwick University that a new Institute of Labour Affairs is being founded by a group of businessmen and academics". Lord Beloff said the allegation of bias should be investigated. Mr Michael Posner called in yet another former Think Tank chief, Sir Kenneth Berrill, to do the job.

The Berrill report published yesterday clears the Warwick Unit with one mild reservation about a publication listed in its annual report concerning a piece of research undertaken by a unit member before he was recruited to Warwick. The unit received high praise from a wide range of witnesses who gave evidence to Berrill including the CBI and officials from the Department of Employment. The Beloff accu-

sations fall. Yet it is easy to see how the unease which underlay them arose.

As Lord Rothschild observed in his 1982 report: "Social scientists... exist to question conventional wisdom and so-called common sense... much of sociology consists in holding a mirror in front of a segment of the community and saying 'Look what you are like'. Home truths are often unpleasant but that does not mean that their proponents are allowing their personal views to influence the objectivity of their studies. But those in charge must be very careful, conscientious and aware of the problem which rarely affects the natural scientist".

His careful, balanced analysis is a timely antidote to the conventional wisdom that, since the 1960s, university life, not to mention social science research has been poisoned by people with a political axe to grind. In the space of a year, the Rothschild and Berrill reports have shown this to be untrue, certainly as far as the SSRC is concerned. The council should now be left in peace in the hope that it will sponsor the kind of applied research needed to help ministers and civil servants manage a perplexed society and a battered economy through the difficult years ahead.

## THE LINGUA FRANCA OF DIVORCE LAW

"I divorce you. I divorce you. I divorce you." According to Islamic law that is all a Moslem husband has to say in order to divorce his wife. This type of Moslem divorce, the *talaq*, used to be not much more than a curiosity of comparative law, reserved for discussion in learned text books on English private international law. But no longer. With the growing number of Moslems living in our country English family lawyers have increasingly had to familiarise themselves with the *talaq* divorce. How English law should deal with this type of divorce has become an increasingly urgent question.

Traditionally, our law has been very liberal in its approach to the question of recognition of foreign divorces. Provided one of the parties has a sufficient connexion with the country where the divorce takes place, or the divorce is recognised as valid by the parties' domicile, our courts will normally treat the divorce as valid, even if it is obtained on a ground which is unknown to English law.

Until recently, the same has applied to foreign extra-judicial divorces, such as *talaq* divorces, for the very good reason that if the cause of the divorce is immaterial, so ought the method to be, subject, in appropriate cases, to the requirements of natural justice. Our courts have rightly been careful not to be over-critical of other systems of

law, and, where possible they have sensibly followed a policy of preventing limping marriages, described by a great divorce judge in the last century as "the scandal which arises when a man and woman are held to be man and wife in one country and strangers in another."

In the last three or four years however, there has been something of a retreat from the previous judicial tolerance shown to foreign *talaq* divorces. The case reported in yesterday's Law Report is the latest example of this trend. A High Court judge refused to recognize a *talaq* pronounced in Kashmir on two grounds: firstly, because the method of divorce was too informal to count as "proceedings" within the meaning of the Recognition of Divorces and Legal Separations Act, 1971, and secondly because recognition would be contrary to public policy.

Last year a different High Court judge, dealing with Dubai *talaq*, took an opposite view of the statute and held that it did include an equally informal divorce, but he too refused to recognize the *talaq*, this time on the ground that the wife had not been given advance notice of the divorce (not that any amount of notice could have enabled her to resist it).

The result of all this is that the law in this area is now in a state of complete uncertainty. Law-

yers cannot advise their clients with any confidence as to their marital status. Administrators such as marriage registrars, tax inspectors and immigration officers who daily have to deal with these questions in the course of their work, are left completely in the dark. So what is happening is that more and more cases of *talaq* divorces are having to go to court for a judicial ruling. This may be good for the lawyers, but, since many of these cases are funded by legal aid, it is bad for the public purse.

Why have the judges become so reluctant to recognise these *talaq* divorces? Because recognition usually entails the court losing its wide powers to make financial orders in favour of a wife after a divorce. These powers only arise after pronouncing an English divorce and not after recognising a foreign one. So, as the law now stands, the effect of recognition may often be to leave a wife quite high and dry financially. If our courts were to have power to award maintenance and capital to a wife after a foreign divorce there would be less reason for our judges to have qualms about recognising the divorce itself. This reform was recommended last year by the Law Commission. Whatever the political complexion of the next government, the proposal should be taken up and put on the agenda for the next session of Parliament.

## Irish attitudes to nuclear threat

From Dr Aodhagan Roddy  
Sir, It seems that the critical remarks attributed to Mr Heseltine regarding Irish neutrality (your issues of May 6 and 7) are an expression of the current British Government's attitude, since there has been no retraction by the Government.

We do not all perceive the Navy umbrella, or any other nuclear umbrella, as a positive advantage. Whatever Britain's foreign and defence policy, the Irish people have a right to their view of the best and most moral position to be adopted by a small nation in a world fraught with increasing danger.

Neither do we view Irish neutrality as having merely a provisional character rooted in partition, as suggested in your leader of May 7. True, partition was an important factor influencing the decision made in 1949 that Ireland would not join Nato. However, the world of 1983, bristling with many-headed nuclear monsters and stressed by the concomitant international tensions, is far removed from that of 1949.

It is true, as your leader writer remarked, that Ireland has not been ideologically neutral and true also that Irish neutrality has not been developed with the professionalism of the Swiss or the Swedes. Nevertheless, the Irish have increasingly appreciated the wisdom of a policy of neutrality and it most certainly cannot be regarded today as an insincere posture by an Irish people who value it merely as an instrument for pursuing the national aspiration of unity.

It is a positive stance, an expression of sanity in a world of increasing nuclear madness. The neutral nations of Europe should cooperate to seek proper recognition and status for the concept of positive neutrality in the UN and other international agencies. Then, perhaps, the rest of the world can be inspired in its quest to free itself from this nuclear strait-jacket.

We feel that this positive view of neutrality is shared by the majority of people on this island. It is fully compatible with Ireland's independent stance on international issues such as Afghanistan, El Salvador or the Middle East.

Our neutrality is positive; we value it dearly. It deserves and needs to be fostered and strengthened and it deserves too to be respected, if not emulated, by our neighbours.

Yours sincerely,  
AODHAGAN RODDY, Chairman, Active Neutrality for Disarmament Group, University College, Galway, Republic of Ireland, May 14.

## Land of the free

From Miss Sarah Wright

Sir, As an Italianophile I sympathise with Mrs W. M. A. Potts (May 10), but I do think she views Italy through the rose-tinted spectacles of a tourist. Certainly there are fewer motorcars and more restrictions than in this country, but there are correspondingly more accidents.

As for petty officials, Mrs Potts obviously did not even attempt to register as a resident alien. Mr. Potts (myself included) give up the second day. Of course it does matter since the police are by sympathetic and fond of presenters. Mrs Potts is quite accurate in seeing the Italians as a cheerful people, but how did she miss the beggars on the street, the trainees, the pickpockets, the rascals who will cut off a finger to a ring and above all the armed forces of the carabinieri?

Florence is very beautiful and especially so at this time of year, but she is also beguiling. Don't forget "Oh, to be in England."

Yours faithfully,  
SARAH WRIGHT,  
9 Eglinton Road,  
Putney, SW15,  
May 10.

## Financial constraint

From Mr Charles Carey

Sir, Mr Gerald O'Connell (May 11) should in his turn consider himself lucky, lucky to have had a teller to count his earnings.

It is my habit to go to my trouser pocket at night. The first morning, apart from the teller, I find a knife, etc (I am armed) I only replace the "silver" this time. This saves my pockets, money.

In a pre-Budget to make my currency more fluid, I proudly presented my abox full of five years of "coppers" the teller in my local bank. He gave me that look of pity reserved for the slightly dotty, implied that he'd better things to do than count my money, and pushed over a wad of these bags into which I had put and count my collections. Healy weighed it.

Yours faithfully,  
CHARLES CAREY,  
Holland Bar,  
Delaholme,  
Cornwall,  
May 12.

## Eating squirrels

From Mr Michael Noakes

Sir, Mr Edward Lear was travelling in Southern Calabria in 1847, was offered a dish "full of roasted squirrels, adorned by fungi of wondrous shapes and colours."

Unfortunately he makes no comment on their flavour, nor does he tell us how they compared in excellence with his own culinary masterpieces. Crumbobbitious Cutlets Ambrosius Pie.

Yours faithfully,  
MICHAEL NOAKES,  
14 Hamilton Terrace,  
Spin's Wood, NW8,  
May 17.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Pressure groups with single aims

From Mr John Elford

Sir, Your first leader (May 16) the position of single-aim pressure groups within the democracies should not be able to pass unchallenged.

Firstly, to compare the power and influence of relatively unimpaired pressure groups in Britain with the extremely well funded right groups in the USA (to which Mr Carter was undoubtedly referring in the speech quoted by Lord Alton) is absurd: are the American Rifle Association and the National Rifle Association?

The main criticism of a leader is, perhaps not surprisingly, reserved for CND. Whilst accepting your obvious point that pressure groups should operate in the law, CND, with nuclear disarmament as its objective, is described as a "sect" and interest in it could become "a threat to its objectives".

Moreover, without making any judgment on the fitness or otherwise of CND's activities and strategy to achieve its objectives, the organization is credited with raising the level of the debate on the disarmament question; and surely the degree to which the public becomes informed in this most crucial issue of our time is a measure of the health of our liberal democracy rather than a threat to our individuality.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN ELFOR,  
11 Gordon Road, NW5.

### A tax on 'try'

From Professor B. Fellgett

Sir, Professor Fell has drawn attention (May 16) to the good sense of a tax on "try". In an earlier letter (November 2, 1971), I proposed pollution-added tax, PAT, which would make use of existing machinery. This idea has since been developed and generalised to a resource environment and cost tax, REST, the name has the further implication of a tax on "try" would be a special case of REST.

Tax on "try" has the dual function of collecting revenue and of serving as an instrument of policy by encouraging things that are conducive to the common good and inhibiting those that are unfavourable to it. From a point of view, a tax on "try" is exactly the opposite of what is required.

Yours faithfully,  
B. FELLETT,  
Reading University,  
Department of Cybernetics,  
3 Earley Gate,  
Whiteknights,  
Reading.

### And reason

From the Reverend K. S. Swithinbank

Sir, Mr Graham Dunstan Martin (May 17) states that "faith is not but I do think she views Italy through the rose-tinted spectacles of a tourist. Certainly there are fewer motorcars and more restrictions than in this country, but there are correspondingly more accidents."

The argument over the relationship of faith and reason is not new. St Paul wrote these words to the Corinthian church: "Since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the folly of what we preached to save those who believe."

Man's wisdom on its own will never grasp the "ultimate things". This does not mean that they are irrational but rather supra-rational. The centre of Solzhenitsyn's

### Child thieves abroad

From Mrs Marion Woolfson

Sir, Last November, my daughter and I were accosted by a group of women and young boys in the Quartier Latin. At the time, we had not heard of the child thieves of Paris, but we realised what was happening when they began waving posters and placards in front of us and pawing and jostling us.

Although we were greatly outnumbered, we were taller, stronger and apparently more agile than any of our puny attackers and so we pushed them away from us with some force before setting off at speed. After we had outdistanced them, we checked our handbags and discovered that the contents were intact with the exception of my

### Saving parish records

From the Chairman of the Manorial Society of Great Britain

Sir, The Secretary general of Synod's letter (May 16) about the maintenance of parish records is timely. While inferring from Mr Pattinson's letter that the Church is against compulsion to deposit parish records in diocesan archives, as arbitrarily proposed in Mr Duncan Harrington's feature (May 7), we cannot help thinking that the county record office is really the place for them.

Diocesan archives cannot compare with the CROs in maintenance, repair, and cataloguing historical documents. It is also the case that documents may be inspected at the CROs without charge, thus saving the fees of which Mr Harrington complains.

Since many manorial records are deposited in the CROs, and since historians and genealogists generally need to consult parish and manorial records together, there is an additional advantage of having both under the same roof.

Yours faithfully,  
ROBERT SMITH, Chairman,  
The Manorial Society of Great Britain,  
104 Kennington Road, SE11.

### Pressure groups with single aims

From Mrs Dinah Dawson

Sir, According to J. S. Mill, the greatest enemy of individual liberty is not, as your leader writer seems to believe (May 16), "the single-purpose pressure group"; it is "the tyranny of the majority", and I suggest that it is in just the social climate where pressure groups are not acceptable that this tyranny has been exercised most successfully, with the result that people are not free to express their desire for reform.

We may congratulate ourselves, and rightly, on our parliamentary democratic system, but we should remember that individual freedom even if not infringed by the state to the extent that obtains in some other countries, is liable to at least the same degree of constraint by the tendency of society to impose its own ideas and practices as rules. It is therefore a good sign for human freedom that pressure groups should continue to be active.

I agree entirely with your leader writer that they should remain within the law, but I find the language and tone of the article offensive: "Enemies of liberty" as a title, for instance, and "the posturing of these pressure groups" - and to relegate the struggle for equality of half the human race to the same sub-clause as animal liberation is to betray far more intolerance and desire for repression than even the proponents of direct action.

Yours faithfully,  
D. DAWSON,  
46 Leamington Terrace,  
Edinburgh,  
May 16.

that use resources, or incur environmental or social costs; particularly so if they fail to generate wealth. REST would operate in this sense, and provide effective economic pressure, operating in detail day by day, towards minimising communal costs and maximising communal benefits. Through the mechanism of REST, it could be a flexible and selective and finely graduated instrument of policy.

A further consideration is that in modern society with heavy taxation there is inevitably and quite legitimately a large tax-avoidance industry, which at present is not directly wealth-producing. Under REST, however, research and development aimed at reducing communal costs would become an effective means of tax avoidance.

Yours faithfully,  
PETER FELLETT,  
Reading University,  
Department of Cybernetics,  
3 Earley Gate,  
Whiteknights,  
Reading.

argument is surely that the cause of the problems of the present day, both in the East and the West, is to be found in the intellectual pride of Man. It is precisely because we have relied on our own wisdom, both individually and corporately, and have "forgotten God" that "all this has happened".

Absolute individual autonomy, including intellectual autonomy, may sound a high ideal, but it has never been a Christian one. As Jesus said: "Whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake, he will save it."

To become a Christian is thus to renounce one's individual autonomy, not in favour of the state nor any corporate body of men, but in favour of a loving, Creator God.

To do so, and herein lies the paradox, is to gain true freedom, including intellectual freedom, as one learns to use one's mind under the authority of God.

Yours faithfully,  
KIM SWITHINBANK,  
14 Trinity Street,  
Norwich, Norfolk.

daughter's passport which had disappeared. We chased the gang and demanded the return of the passports and this was meekly handed back to us by one of the boys.

Judging by the experiences of some of your other correspondents, I realise now that we were lucky, but we may not be so fortunate again; and so I have decided to arm myself with a hatpin next time - if this is permitted in France. Or is French law as idiotic as British law, which does not permit the potential victims of muggers, rapists or even murderers to provide themselves with any kind of "weapon" of defence?

Yours faithfully,  
MARION WOOLFSON,  
35 Camden Mews, NW1.

### 'Tag' monitors

From Mr M. M. Charlish

Sir, A less controversial and more socially acceptable use for the electronic "tag" monitor mentioned in your column on May 5 for the possible surveillance of convicted criminals would be for it to be modified to work in the reverse mode. Instead of its emitting radio pulses continuously to be monitored by a central computer it could be fitted with a switch so that it would emit signals only when the wearer wanted help.

Thus I envisage its being supplied (on request only, of course) to the aged or infirm, especially those living alone or without a telephone or a long way from neighbours. Upon their switching on the monitor its signals would be linked through the computer to, say, an ambulance station.

The idea of employing the "tag" in this way is similar to the use of the rescue beacons supplied to RAF pilots to summon help and to pinpoint their location upon bailing-out or when ditching.

Yours faithfully,  
M. McEWEEN CHARLISH,  
132 Park Lane,  
Carshalton,  
Surrey.

## Election's effect on youth training

From Mr Andrew Forrest

Sir, One effect of the calling of the general election has been severely to restrict the Youth Training Scheme at a particularly crucial time. The minute the election was announced the Manpower Services Commission had to suspend all public activities concerned with YTS until after June 9.

This has already meant, for example, that Geoffrey Holland, as Director of MSC, has had to withdraw at short notice from a private meeting of businessmen and that a meeting explaining the Youth Training Scheme to over 100 parents had to be cancelled.

The Youth Training Scheme has its critics, but the fact remains that it was launched with all-party support in Parliament and that thousands of 16-year-olds are now on the last lap of their career. In a few weeks from now it may be too late to explain the scheme to them and to their parents.

For the future we must re-examine the rule about publicly-funded bodies such as MSC effectively being "gagged" during election campaigns, at the very time when their political masters are indulging themselves oratorically up the hill.

Yours faithfully,  
ANDREW FORREST, Director,  
Youth Employment and Training,  
Education for Industrial Society,  
48 Bryanston Square, W1.

## Equality for all

From Mrs Enid Hutchinson

Sir, I have just received a copy of the discussion paper, *Towards an Adult Training Strategy*, issued last month by the Manpower Services Commission. In its foreword, the chairman, Mr David Young, writes that "adult training and re-training will be every bit as important in the eighties as youth training".

Bravely said, but if the illustration for the paper's cover is carrying out a brief given by the commission the inference is clearly that this importance is restricted to women in the proportion of one in 12. Eleven males are shown in the picture performing a variety of presumably newly learned skills; one young woman sits at a key-board with a collar-and-tie chap directing her. By giving her also an "ethnic" face the commission is able economically to make an appropriate gesture in the direction of another area of disadvantage.

Perhaps the commission itself could do with some re-training. Yours faithfully,  
ENID HUTCHINSON,  
8 High Wind,  
Appleby-in-Westmorland, Cumbria.

From Mr Robert H. V. Wright  
Sir, The Labour Party's emergency programme states that they will "appoint a Cabinet minister to promote equality between the sexes".

What sex one wonders will such minister be and upon what criteria will the choice be made? Yours faithfully,  
ROBERT WRIGHT,  
The Edge,  
Egryn, via Sheffield.

## Rival fare

From Mr Thomas W. Hugo

Sir, Re the Conservative Party advertisement in today's issue (May 18) if, in a restaurant, I found that the menu card was devoted entirely to the criticism of the fare on offer at a rival establishment I should be disinclined to order.

Yours faithfully,  
THOMAS W. HUGO,  
Chepmells,  
Route Charles,  
St Peter Port,  
Guernsey,  
Channel Islands.

## Signs and portents?

From Mr John Hood

Sir, Having seen Dr B. Clark's letter today (May 18), I turned to my desk quotation calendar for June 9 - "Of the two evils the lesser is always to be chosen".

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN HOOD,  
1 Vardon Drive,  
Wimslow, Cheshire.

## Sunk in bloom

From Mr C. B. Austin and Mr G. White

Sir, As we reach day 30 of the present wet spell - and we stress the word "spell" - may we ask why no party has seen fit to include in its manifesto any provision for protecting our national sport?

We assert that such extraordinary meteorological conditions as those we are currently suffering can be only accredited to a malicious attempt on the part of the (Russian) Bear to undermine English morale. How long is this insufferable situation going to be allowed to continue?

Yours etc,  
CHRIS AUSTIN,  
GILES WHITE,  
Westfield College Cricket Club,  
Kidderspool Avenue,  
Hampstead, NW3,  
May 17.

## From Ms Barbara M. Wilkinson

Sir, Due to the political and weather conditions of late, could you possibly advise me of a suitable venue for the construction of my ark? Something tells me I shall be well off by June 9 at the latest.

Yours faithfully,  
BARBARA M. WILKINSON,  
Haberdashers' Aske's School  
for Girls,  
Aldenhams Road,  
Egryn,  
Hertfordshire,  
May 18.







## Investment and Finance

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### STOCK EXCHANGES

FT Index: 698.4 up 8.6  
FT 100: 80.87 up 0.06  
FT All Share: 427.95 up 3.4  
Bargains: 18,107  
Ting Hall USM Index: 167.1  
up 0.6  
Tokyo: Nikkei Dow Jones,  
8584.42 down 14.42  
Hong Kong: 228.22 down 9.24  
New York: Dow Jones Ave-  
age (latest) 1193.79 down 9.77

### CURRENCIES

LONDON CLOSE  
Sterling \$1.5540 down 50pts  
Index 83.9 up 0.1  
DM 3.8550  
FF 11.5650  
Yen 364.50  
Dollar  
Index 122.8 up 0.5  
DM 2.4785 up 175pts  
Gold  
\$440.50 up 0.05  
NEW YORK LATEST  
Gold \$442.80  
Sterling \$1.5545

### INTEREST RATES

Domestic rates:  
Base rates 10  
3 month interbank 10% - 10 1/4  
Euro currency rates:  
3 month dollar 9 1/4  
3 month DM 5 1/4  
3 month FF 13 1/4 - 13 1/2  
ECGD Fixed Rate Sterling  
Export Finance Scheme IV  
Average reference rate for  
interest period March 2 to April  
5, 1983 inclusive: 10.974 per  
cent.

### PRICE CHANGES

Collins K. 27.75p up 7.75p  
P & O 21.5p up 24p  
Oceans Trans. 109p up 12p  
L.M.S. 63p up 5p  
J. Brown 63p up 5p  
J. Brown 25p up 2p  
Mettoy 34p down 5p  
B. Elliott 38p down 5p  
Brooke Tool 10p down 1p  
Redifarm 100p down 9p  
K.C.A. 47p down 4p  
F. S. Gelduld £30.8125,  
down £2.50

### TODAY

Interim: Acis Jewellery,  
Management Agency, and  
Music.  
Finals: Debenhams, A Gol-  
dberg and Sons, International  
Paint, Suter.  
Economic statistics: Retail  
Price Index (April), Tax and  
Price Index (April), cyclical  
indicators for the UK economy  
(April), finished steel consump-  
tion and stock changes (first  
quarter, provisional).

### Results boost in property sector

The stock market is bracing itself for a rapid re-rating of the property sector following yesterday's unexpectedly large increase in the asset value of Land Securities, Britain's biggest property company.

Its latest revaluation has thrown up a value of more than £2,000m equivalent to 487p per share, against analysts' best expectations of 449p. The news pushed the shares up 11p to 319p, with most of the big companies following suit.

Land Securities' ability to turn in such figures at the end of a very poor year for property will provide a big boost for the sector.

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● **BID ABANDONED:** United Newspapers is ready to make acquisitions in the United States after deciding yesterday to abandon its bid for Benn Brothers, the specialist publishers, rather than continue the battle with Eitel. The bid by Eitel, recommended by the Benn Board, is now almost certain to succeed.

● **CHEQUE INCREASE:** Barclays Bank is increasing the charge for cashing cheques for customers of other banks from 50p to £1 from July 2. Barclays' aim is to deter the customers of other banks from crowding out their branches on Saturday mornings.

● **HESTAIR BID:** Hestair, the special vehicle maker, has bid £4.2m for Duple International, the coach body builder which has made losses for the last two years. Hestair has picked up 22 per cent of the stake held in Duple by Grovewood Securities, the Eagle Star subsidiary, and together with its own shares now has 29.9 per cent.

● **£10m DEAL:** Britannia Arrow Holdings, the fund management and investment group, has completed a £10m deal to acquire a \$1,600m fund management company, Gardner and Preston Moss, based in Boston, Massachusetts.

● **PROFIT ADVANCE:** Philips, the Dutch electronics company, reports that pretax profits for the first quarter of 1982 expanded by 7 per cent to 241m fl (about £56m).

## WALL STREET

### Shares down slightly

New York (AP-Dow Jones) - The Dow Jones industrial average was off about three points in early trading yesterday. It had been down about 20 points early in the morning but rebounded to a fractional gain before declining again.

Advancing and declining issues were about equal in balance.

Mr. Charles Lewis, vice-president at Shearson-American Express, said: "The market rallied off the 1,200 level in a technical and psychological rebound after yesterday's frantic selling on liquidation by an institution."

Other analysts said smaller investors were buying low-priced issues and blue chips were being left alone for the time being as the market consolidated huge gains made since last August.

The Government said revised figures showed the GNP rising at a 2.5 per cent rate in the first quarter instead of 3.1 per cent as originally reported.

Mesa Offshore was the most active issue up 1/2 to 3 1/2. ICI Pharmaceuticals followed up to 12. Gould Inc was third (unchanged) at 39 1/2.

### Growing support for Volcker

From Bailey Morris Washington

President Reagan is likely to reappoint Mr Paul Volcker as head of the United States Federal Reserve Board according to Wall Street officials.

Trial balloons "have been floated by the White House on Wall Street and the response has been overwhelmingly in favour of Mr Volcker, the officials said."

"Mr Reagan will, we believe, consider the financial markets' potential reaction and ask Mr Volcker to stay on. The markets have expressed a preference for Mr Volcker," Mr Jack Lynch, chief economist of Merrill Lynch, said yesterday.

There is a growing belief on Wall Street that a deal would be worked out under which Mr Volcker will agree to stay on as chairman of the Fed until after the election.

Although Mr Volcker does not appear to have support among White House insiders, the fact that Wall Street is backing him is "having an impact on Mr Reagan's thinking," officials said.

Meanwhile, Mr Donald Regan, the Treasury Secretary, yesterday responded with an emphatic "no" when asked to comment on the chances of Mr Volcker's reappointment.

He told a group of contractors and builders that he was not a candidate for the Fed post.

Discussing the economy rather than the Volcker question, Mr Regan emphasized the need for a "stable" monetary policy. He likened monetary policy over "the last couple of years" to alternately stepping on the gas pedal and then slamming on the brakes - an implied criticism of Mr Volcker's policies.

But in the aftermath of the public debate on the question it is not clear at all whether Mr Volcker will accept the job if offered.

### Brazil rescue in balance

By Michael Prest

Discussions between Brazil and the International Monetary Fund over whether Brazil qualifies for the second tranche of its \$4,900m (£3,161.2m) IMF credit will profoundly affect confidence in the effectiveness of international efforts to support debt-stricken countries, bankers believe.

Brazil is trying to persuade IMF officials that it has met the quarterly and annual targets specified in the March agreement. Part of the agreement is about the interpretation of Brazilian economic data and so far the IMF is thought to have given Brazil the benefit of the doubt.

But Senator Carlos Langoni, head of the Brazilian central bank, has warned that he may seek a waiver of the IMF terms if agreement is not reached by next week or if the IMF decides that Brazil has wavered from the straight and narrow.

Either of these two outcomes would reinforce the incipient fears among bankers that the rescue mounted quickly around the beginning of the year are failing. Brazil's external debts of about \$90,000m are matched only by those of Mexico, and great faith has been placed in the capacity of the IMF to ensure that adjustment policies are followed.

Should relations with the IMF break down, Brazil will lose more than \$400m instalment from the IMF fund. It will also be ineligible for \$540m from a \$4,400m commercial bank loan signed at the same time. Senator Langoni has admitted that payments by Brazil under the March agreement are already \$807m in arrears.

These uncertainties are reinforcing the predictions of smaller American and European banks not to renew their Brazilian credit lines to Brazilian institutions to the maximum achieved last year.

The IMF will be heartened, however, by China's announcement that it will repay a \$450m IMF loan ahead of schedule. Unlike some of its Third World counterparts China has increased its foreign reserves from \$2,260m at the end of 1980 to \$11,130m at the end of last year.

## £171m to be spent on Port Talbot modernization

### BSC given go-ahead for \$665m investment over three years

By Derek Harris

about 1,200 jobs, but the other 2,800 jobs these would be more secure.

But Mr Jenkins gave this warning in his letter. "I recognize that the steel market remains difficult and that the future of any particular plant or works will continue to depend on the way in which markets for their products develop and on the costs and efficiency of their operation."

BSC's external financing limit is £325m for 1984. It includes a smaller sum for contingencies than posed by Mr MacGregor.

This compares with the £365m external limit for last year which March was extended to £4m as BSC plunged into deep losses. After 1983-4 BSC's only one more year of cash from the Government.

BSC's loss has been improving this year. In January, losses were running at £9m a week, but towards the end of March, as demand improved, losses were reduced to £6m a week. Since then the losses have probably declined further.

This means the external financing limit would be sufficient to cover losses in 1983-84 provided the improvement is at least sustained.

● If Mrs Thatcher's government were elected, the whole of the British steel industry could be privatized or closed, a union leader declared yesterday.

Only the plants at Llanwern and Port Talbot might survive another five years of Conservative rule, Mr William Sirs, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, said.

Even these two works could be sold to private interests under the right market conditions, he argued.

In reply to the Government's endorsement yesterday of British Steel's corporate plan, he said the announcement was rushed through by the Cabinet as an electioneering ploy.

### EEC steel production plan

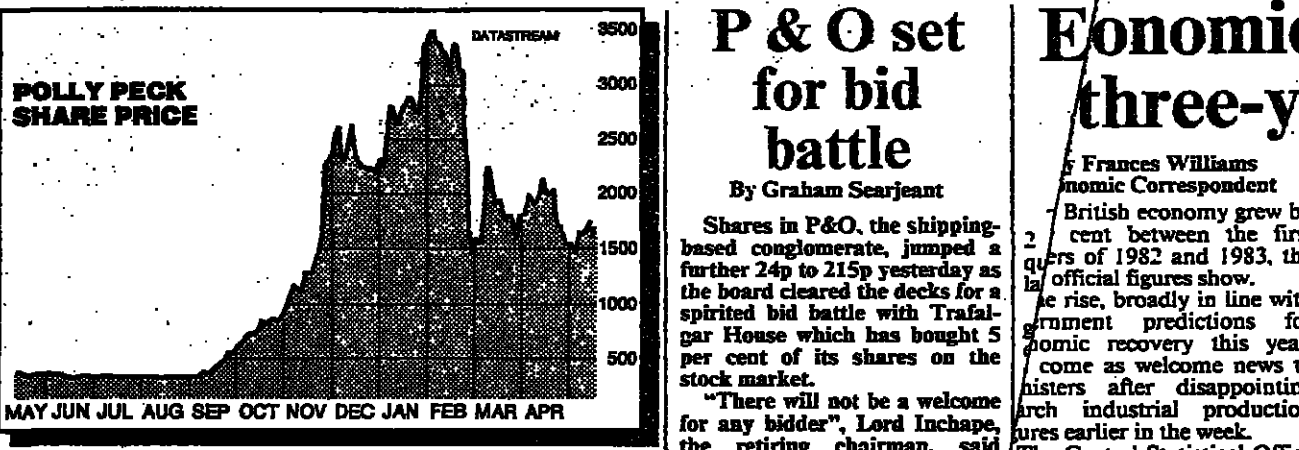
The continuing crisis in the steel industry has persuaded the European Commission to ask for an extension of special powers to hold down EEC production and fix prices (see Murray writes from Brussels).

The request is to be put to the next meeting of industry ministers, which has been postponed until after the General Election.

Britain has already said it will not be happy to approve an extension, unless there are alterations in the terms to allow greater flexibility in the way quotas could be taken up.

The June election means that the commission's request is now likely, considering how sensitive a political subject steel has become.

Nevertheless, the Government is thought not to be overworried about the need for further special measures on the grounds that British Steel is believed to be sufficiently lean to compete.



### Polly Peck profits jump to £8.1m

By Jeremy Warner

Pretax profits of Polly Peck, the controversial Cyprus citrus fruit and packaging group whose shares fell sharply on the stock market in March, rose from £3.1m to £8.1m in the half year to the end of February.

The result is in line with the bullish forecasts of Polly Peck's progress which have been made by L. Messel, the company's stock brokers.

It was these forecasts which helped to push Polly Peck shares to £35 before they more than halved in response to an attack on the company's affairs by the Cyprus Government.

The brokers forecast profits of £25m in the year to August and £42.5m for 1983/84. The forecasts take no account of a number of new deals and projects which the company announced yesterday. It said that, after extensive research done by a "leading firm of management consultants" into the possibility of pharmaceutical projects in the Middle East, it was planning to buy within the next month a pharmaceutical plant close to Middle East markets for £600,000. The plant is believed to be in the Turkish section of Cyprus.

Polly Peck also said that it is on schedule to start assembling video recorders at a new plant in Turkey in three months time. Production of Ferguson colour television sets from the same plant will begin in late autumn.

A second corrugated box factory and packaging station in Northern Cyprus will be operational before the end of this year and planning for a corrugated box plant and two packing houses in Turkey is at an advanced stage, the company said.

Mr Asil Nadir, chairman, was not available for comment yesterday. The shares fell £1 to £16.

● **BREWERY WARNING:** Davenport Brewery (Holdings) yesterday stepped up its defence against the £26m takeover bid from rival Midlands brewery, Wolverhampton-based Breweries by warning that if the takeover goes ahead it will mean drastic rationalization of the Davenport business.

## City Comment

### Societies ready for CD cash

The building societies have wasted no time in taking advantage of their new-found freedom to raise funds in the money markets by the issue of Certificates of Deposit.

Two leading societies, Nationwide and Anglia, announced their intention of issuing CDs and most if not all the top 10 societies, as well as some of the second division, are expected to dip a toe in this new pool.

On the face of it borrowing money at around 10 1/2 to 10 3/4 per cent in the CD market and lending it to homebuyers at 10 per cent does not look like good business. And this has been cited as one reason why the societies will be reluctant to enter this market. This is nonsense for several reasons.

First, the true interest rate charged to borrowers is nearer 10.5 per cent than 10 per cent and with an increasing proportion of loans being granted on the endowment basis where the quoted interest rate is 10.25 per cent, the average lending rate is probably around the 10 1/2 per cent the societies are going to pay for their money in the CD market.

Secondly, and more important, the societies do not intend that the money markets should become a big source of finance for home loans. Indeed the Registrar of Friendly Societies has made it plain that the maximum exposure to the money markets should be no more than 5 per cent of a society's assets.

Given that most societies have been forced to dip into liquidity to meet mortgage demand, it seems likely that virtually all the leading societies will take advantage of the new borrowing opportunities.

The Halifax is prepared and ready to move when the time looks right and most other big societies have taken similar steps.

Conservative estimates put the total building society borrowing in the CD market at around £1bn during the current year, but it could build up to be significantly more.

### Economic output at three-year high

By Frances Williams Economic Correspondent

British economy grew by 2.1 per cent between the first quarters of 1982 and 1983, the official figures show.

The rise, broadly in line with government predictions for a "strong recovery" this year, came as welcome news to ministers after disappointing arch industrial production figures earlier in the week.

The Central Statistical Office said yesterday that the output measure of gross domestic product, the most reliable guide to short-term movements in the economy, rose by an estimated 2.1 per cent in the latest quarter.

The bulk of the increase came from a 1.5 per cent jump in industrial production, which accounts for about 40 per cent of total output.

Output in the economy as a whole is now at its highest level for nearly three years, 2.5 to 3 per cent above its nadir in spring 1981, but still 4.5 per cent below its pre-recession, 1979 peak.

One reason for the latest increase in output is that buoyant home demand is now being met from higher production in Britain's factories rather than from stocks.

Stocks fell by only £35m in the first quarter of 1983, according to provisional estimates by the Department of Industry, after a drop of £566m in the previous three months.

A big increase in retailers' stocks, to cope with record spending in the shops, offset further falls in stocks held by manufacturers and wholesalers.

But capital investment fell slightly, by about 0.5 per cent between the two latest quarters, to its lowest level for a year.

● The Bank of England confirmed yesterday that the broad measure of money, sterling M3, surged by a rapid 1.9 per cent in the April banking month, driven by the year-end government borrowing spree. Bank lending to the private sector rose by only £210m, the smallest monthly increase for two years.



### Shell predicts recovery in oil demand

By Jonathan Davis, Energy Correspondent

Shell, which yesterday pleased the market with better than expected first quarter profits, is expecting oil demand to revive by the end of the year after falling for four years in succession.

Sir Peter Baxendale, chairman, told the annual meeting in London that overall oil demand this year would probably be 1 million barrels a day lower than in 1982. But Shell is forecasting a "slight upward trend" towards the end of the year, which would continue into 1984.

Shell's first quarter net income was up from £414m to £508m.

Despite falling demand and very competitive market conditions, leading to Opec's crude oil price cuts, earnings in marketing and refining in Europe improved markedly, the company said. As a result, stock market analysts have upgraded their forecasts for full-year net income, to between £2,200m and £2,300m, against last year's outcome of £1,993m. Shell's shares rose 14p to 506p.

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### Perkins and BL in £22m deal

By Clifford Webb, Motoring Correspondent

Austin Rover and Perkins Engines Peterborough yesterday announced a £22m deal to produce and sell jointly a new lightweight diesel engine for cars which represents a world-wide technological breakthrough for British industry.

It is the first high-speed diesel to feature direct injection of the fuel mixture, a method that has long promised exceptional fuel economy in laboratory conditions. Until now, however it has proved unreliable in practice because of the very high temperatures and pressures involved.

Existing car diesel engines use an indirect injection system, where the fuel is ignited in a pre-chamber.

Mr James Felker, Perkins's managing director, said yesterday: "An agreement to go ahead and produce these highly advanced new engines is arguably one of the most significant recent developments in the field of joint cooperation within British industry."

The new two-litre engine is based on Austin Rover's existing "O" series petrol engine, which powers the Fiat Ambassador and Rover 2000 models.

Perkins, one of the world's largest manufacturers of diesel engines and part of the Canadian-owned Massey Ferguson group, will use parts of the "O" series engine line at Longbridge. It will complete the final assembly with the addition of unique diesel components. They are believed to include a new type of diesel injector and pump developed by LucasCAV. The new engine will appear first early in 1985 in the Maestro and the bigger LM11, due for launch next year, and a few months later in project XXX, the new executive car being developed jointly with Honda, Japan.

Motoring column, page 23

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## EXECUTIVE DIVISION

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### Accord near on Williamsburg 'formula'

### Fears of summit clash recede

From Our United States Economics Correspondent

For a fight, may not change his mind at Williamsburg.

What it does mean is that the US, as the conference host, is so anxious to avoid a fight that it has put forward in the last 10 days the bare bones of a final agreement which has been circulated among the other summit nations and appears to have substantial support.

Diplomats in Washington and officials attending a pre-summit conference sponsored by the European Economic Community said there was tentative agreement among the six nations to adopt key trade and economic proposals contained in the US working paper.

The document, which a state department spokesman described as a "jointly developed outline" proposes a generalized, common economic policy plan to lead the world out of recession in addition to a key section on East-West trade and specific wording on budget deficits and currencies.

In what appears to be a significant concession to the French, the US document recommends that the final agreement contain specific language stating that high budget deficits have the effect of provoking "too high real interest rates which provoke distortions and volatility in exchange rates."

● **Bretton Wood call backed by Giscard**

President Mitterrand's call for a new Bretton Woods conference to stabilize exchange rates has gained support from a surprising source: his predecessor, M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (Frances Williams writes).

Writing in today's *Economist*, M Giscard d'Estaing urges the summit leaders in Williamsburg to agree a phased move to a system of fixed exchange rates, to be followed - rather than preceded - by a world monetary conference.

A three to five year programme of "progressive coagulation" - strengthening the European Monetary System, introducing and gradually narrowing target zones between the European currencies, the dollar and the yen, and the use of coordinated central bank intervention - would be followed by an international conference to set the formal seal of approval on the arrangements.

Giscard d'Estaing also adds his voice to those calling for coordinated expansion







Jeremy Warner reviews O.F.T.'s case and the counter arguments

# The battle for a new-style Exchange

If Sir Nicholas Goodison is not bored stiff defending and justifying the working practices of the Stock Exchange to the outside world, he must be about the only member of the market who is not.

Yet if the system under which they work is not successfully defended next January - when after seven long years of skirmishing the Stock Exchange will finally be brought to court for operating anti-competitive practices - the storm of change that will break on the City will be a far more serious one.

It is not surprising then that Sir Nicholas can still speak passionately about the virtues of the institution of which he is the chairman, and the threat of the restrictive practices court.

"We are meant to be an evolving market, but the impending court case has halted that. How can I have constructive discussion with users and members about change when I am in the clutches of adversarial litigation?"

"Bringing us to court is not a constructive thing. It is destructive. I am the last person to say that everything about the Stock Exchange is perfect but the effect of this case is to paint things in black and white terms. Let us have sensible discussion about change by all means, but litigation can surely not be in anyone's interests."

The adversarial nature of the procedure for dealing with restrictive practices has been personified in this case by Sir Nicholas on one side and Sir Gordon Berridge, Director General of Fair Trading, on the other. The Office of Fair Trading has a legally binding duty to put the case against the Stock Exchange before the court.

The O.F.T. has listed 173 restrictions in the Stock Exchange rule book which it deems relevant to the case. Most of these support the two real bones of contention: that Stock Exchange members collectively impose a table of fixed commissions for dealing in stocks and shares and that they enforce a rigid division between agents and principals in stock trading. This is the cornerstone of the exchange's structure.

It is now the only big Stock Exchange in the world to insist on two types of firm as members. Stock jobbers are the



Sir Nicholas: 'bringing us to court is not constructive'.

wholesalers who alone are allowed to make a market in stocks and shares on their own account while customers can deal with the jobbers only through the agency of commission-taking stockbrokers. To keep this "single capacity" structure intact, outsiders are not allowed to own more than 30 per cent of any firm.

This means that, on average, two groups have to make a profit out of each deal. Big investors would be able to deal more cheaply on large orders if they could negotiate broking

competition led inevitably to dual capacity.

Crisis and financial scandal at Lloyd's of London has for the Stock Exchange at least provided a timely reminder of the potential evils of dual capacity.

Some Stock Exchange Council members find it difficult to disguise a kind of perverse delight in the mighty insurance market's fall from grace. It has finally buried a significant part of the Office of Fair Trading's case against them, they believe the single capacity system is safe, and the Stock Exchange will be allowed to carry on running its affairs as only it knows how.

Lloyd's appears to have given the Stock Exchange the edge in the public argument. Before last summer, it was easy to knock the Stock Exchange and the anomalies of its rights of fixed commissions and division of jobbing and broking functions. But Lloyd's now lies crippled by the recent scandals and has been forced to bring in an outside chief executive, Mr Ian Hay Davidson, to restore its credibility. The problems were caused by the conflict of interest - a natural hazard, according to the Stock Exchange, of the collision between brokers and market makers that occurs if their functions are mixed up.

But although Lloyd's may be useful popular propaganda, against the O.F.T., all it has done in reality is to make the arguments about capacity even more complex. It might be argued, for instance, that the difficulties at Lloyd's could have been prevented as well by



Sir Gordon: legally binding duty to put the case before court.

adequate disclosure of information as by the apparently more clumsy method of strict divisions between insurance broking and underwriting.

Disclosure of information as a method of preventing the problem of possible abuse arising out of conflict of interest, lies at the heart of the O.F.T.'s case for an alternative.

The Restrictive Practices Court needs more than an O.F.T. hatchet job on Stock Exchange working practices. It needs to be convinced that there are possible alternatives which are more in the public interest than the current system before sentencing that system to death.

The real argument here is that the Stock Exchange and its member firms are missing opportunities seized in other areas by money broking firms like Mercantile House as well as merchant and clearing banks. Restrictions are stifling growth. Our firms are small, the brokers often inadequate to compete for international business. Jobbers have too little capital, for instance, to handle a major revival of the corporate bond market.

For many years, member firms were forbidden from trading elsewhere. Now they are encouraged to expand into areas like financial futures, but unless price competition cuts numbers and allows big firms to emerge, there is no chance of all-embracing financial service groups such as Merrill Lynch appearing here.

Abroad, leading banks make the market in Eurobonds on a scale that leaves the London

existence of an efficient securities market with adequate protection for investors.

To do this it has gone to Toronto and New York to see how dual capacity and negotiated commissions work in practice. It has clearly returned impressed, convinced that open trading under which all transactions are publicly disclosed combines prevention of abuse with the advantages of free competition.

The O.F.T. is so enamoured of disclosure as an alternative that it is likely to argue that far from needing a more elaborate and costly system of supervision in the new world of free competition in securities trading, a less complex structure would be necessary in many areas.

One restriction spins its own web of restrictions around it. When last summer, the rules governing outside investment in broking firms were relaxed so that other members with capital could bow out to younger members without a whole structure of new restrictions had to be erected in order to protect the old ones.

The broking firm with a substantial outside investor, which would normally be a company involved in securities trading, cannot allow that company to account for more than 20 per cent of its total commission income - this to prevent the company placing all its business through that broker and then sharing in its income.

To do so would be effective commission cutting and close to dual capacity. The problems of refinancing old capital, let alone adding new capital to the market, are apparent given the present framework.

The O.F.T. has a case and it is good one, some Stock Exchange Council members grudgingly concede. But most of them would prefer to talk and compromise than fight. One council member says: "The case has concentrated the market's collective mind on change. The difficulty in reaching a consensus has always been a great prop for the status quo. But there is now recognition of the necessity for change. The unfortunate thing about the way this case is conducted is its all-or-nothing nature. It is more than likely we will evolve towards negotiated commissions and dual capacity anyway. But we need time to learn to swim."

On the other hand, Alroy and Smithers, a leading jobber, now owns an American firm that acts both as broker and as market maker in the over-the-counter market.

But such evidence will not of itself dampen the Stock Exchange rule book. What the O.F.T. must do is show that the main restrictive practices are neither necessary nor desirable for the

## There is now recognition of need for change

already occurs through continuation transactions, which bring together the deals of several separate funds to get the benefit of the lower commission rates that rule for high volume transactions. There are grey areas of what can be provided as "soft dollar" services, offered free in return for commission.

## Industrial notebook

## Tories grateful to Mr Lawson

The general election, it now seems safe to predict, will come and go without any further sudden fall in the world price of crude oil. If any new crisis is going to threaten Opec's tenuous March pricing agreement, and some such challenge is inevitable at some point in the coming months, its effects are certainly not going to be felt fully until after June 9.

This will undoubtedly be a source of relief to Mrs Thatcher. In electoral terms it is a moot point which party would benefit most from a renewal of the economic and currency tensions which Opec's discovery sparked.

A case could be made for its helping all three main parties. Nobody really knows. What is not in doubt is that a repeat of the financial uncertainty and panic which confusion in the oil markets has shown it brings is something that Mrs Thatcher, with her commanding lead in the opinion polls, will be happy not to face.

The Conservatives therefore have good cause to be grateful to Mr Nigel Lawson, the Energy Secretary, for his successful part in prolonging oil market stability during these tense days of February and March when Opec admitted it could only resolve the oil pricing crisis by dragging Britain and other non-Opec producers into the fray.

Mr Lawson's success in placating Opec, restoring confidence to the oil industry and yet preserving, outwardly at least, his free-market principles is acknowledged on all sides to have been something of a diplomatic coup.

What has gone largely unappreciated so far however is the help he has given in this way by the Reagan Administration. The United States' decision, while Opec dithered, not to step up the pressure for lower oil prices as the Administration's free market principles undoubtedly inclined them towards was surprising and decisive.

Without it, British officials say, they would almost certainly not have been able to get away with the "soft dollar" arrangement which has been an implicit associate member of Opec.

The United States' reticence

on this score is surprising, particularly when contrasted with the aggressive public stance which the Reagan Administration adopted over the Soviet gas pipeline.

It is possible that the bloody nose which the Americans received from Europe over their rather simplistic approach to the pipeline has caused them to be more sophisticated in their approach to the complex issue of oil pricing.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion however that the United States is simply uncertain what its policy should be. A recent visit to Britain by Mr Donald Hodel, the new Energy Secretary, was hardly enlightening. Pressed on his earlier prediction that oil prices would fall to the mid \$20s, he replied - not entirely convincingly - that for his money \$20 a barrel was in the mid \$20s.

While repeating that the Administration's free market energy policies were still very much in place, Mr Hodel conceded that liberal democratic societies had shown themselves inadequate in making the kind of investment in capital intensive long lead time energy projects which will be needed if the West is to avoid future energy crises.

The United States has good reasons for being uneasy about the prospect of a sharp fall in oil prices. Its oil industry is going through one of its toughest periods, with drilling down by more than 50 per cent in two years. American banks, with Mexico on their doorstep, are as aware as any of the debt problems associated with countries excessively reliant on oil revenues.

Falling in the opposite direction is the conviction among those economic advisers whom President Reagan most admires that lower oil prices could give the United States economy a decisive kick.

Most important of all, however, is the fact that oil prices are but one part of the wider political equation in the Middle East, which has come to dominate the Administration's political agenda.

Jonathan Davis

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**From David Miller, Stockholm**

The Sheraton Hotel here for the last 48 hours as with so many FIFA meetings, has bristled with more intrigue than the Rome of Caesar or

**By Peter Ball**

## Scotland's 18 for Canada

Graham Taylor has named his England team to face the Republic of Ireland in the semi-final of the UEFA Cup Winners' Championship at Highbury tonight.

Sundering Coveyry Clark, Vorkens (Sunderland), Shearer (Manchester), Strick (Walsley), Kershaw (QPR), Peirson (Stoke), Paddock (Birmingham), Clarke (Sheff Wednesdy), Clarke

Southern League from the Northern Premier League, but for financial reasons are going into the midland division. King's Lynn have been told they must fill the vacancy in the premier division.

King's Lynn say that Stafford should move into the Southern League. They claim that although



## Emotions stirred

**By Paul Newman**

United, Newcastle United and Birmingham City midfielder who has helped take Gateshead to the Northern Premier League championship has told the club that (Premier division, £200), working (first division, £300) and Eastbourne United (second division, £200).

End of season tables will appear next week.

ham manager, Malcolm

McNally was Lloyd's assistant, and is largely responsible for the club's successful youth policy. He joined Wigan two years ago as chief scout.

**By Srikanar Sen**

ended to 'place more emphasis on investment in potential success', Mr Wheatley was quick to point out that this could simply mean an increase in membership in those bodies whose aim was recreation

**From Don Cameron, Rotorua**

The British foil championships also take place this weekend in London, with Pierre Harper expected to retain the men's title.

**Sydney Friskin, The Hague**

**de Castellia in team**  
 Melbourne, (AFP) - The Marathon  
 er Robert de Castellia is among  
 the Australian team selected to  
 compete in the inaugural world  
 team tournament.

**By Jim Rafter**

**de Castella in team**  
Melbourne, (AFP) - The Marathon runner Robert de Castella is among strong Australian team selected to compete in the inaugural world

**By Pat Butcher**

**De Castilla in team**  
Melborne, (AFP) - The Marathi runner Robert de Castilla is among a group of American team selected

England's leading fencers go into the four-nation sabre team tournament at Huddersfield tomorrow in a confident mood. Encouraging individual performances in recent

On Sunday, the four teams will be joined by representatives from Belgium and West Germany.

## De Castella in team

Melborne, (AFP) - The Marath runner Robert de Castella is among a strong Australian team selected to compete in the inaugural world athletics championships in Helsinki in August.







## Law Report May 20 1983 Divisional Court

## Justices criticized for hearing mitigation in camera

Regina v Reigate Justices, Ex parte Argus Newspapers Ltd and Another  
Before Lord Justice Ackner and Mr Justice Gidwell

[Judgment delivered May 19]

The Queen's Bench Divisional Court refused an application for a declaration that in deciding to hear a defendant's plea in mitigation in camera, the Reigate Justices exercised their jurisdiction wrongfully.

The court set out guidelines on the way in which magistrates' courts should approach decisions to conduct proceedings in camera.

The applicants, Argus Newspapers Ltd, and Mr Graham Larcombe, respectively the publisher and editor of the *Survey Mirror*, sought judicial review of the decision of the Reigate Justices to hear the defendant's plea in mitigation in camera.

Mr Desmond Browne for the newspaper, Mr Peter Irvin for the prosecutor, Mr Jonathan Haworth for the defendant.

LORD JUSTICE ACKNER said that on November 1, 1982, the defendant Norman Crawford, had pleaded guilty before the Reigate Justices to a number of charges of burglary, theft and malicious damage. He had elected summary trial.

After the prosecution had dealt with the case, the Reigate Justices handed to the defendant a written statement of the charges. Those showed that the defendant had been convicted on July 23, 1979 at the Central Criminal Court of 11 serious offences involving burglary, aggravated burglary, robbery with violence and possession of firearms. No fewer than 84 offences had been taken into consideration. But the defendant had been given the extremely lenient sentence of 5 years' imprisonment because of assistance he had given the police. He had been released after 18 months and had been given a new identity.

After the character and antecedents, the offences to which the defendant had pleaded guilty might well have persuaded the justices either not to embark on summary trial or to elect during the proceedings to proceed as committing justices.

However, they should without doubt have committed the defendant for sentence at the crown court. If they had done that the problems which had subsequently arisen would have been most unlikely to have occurred.

The defendant's solicitor had handed in a medical report, a letter from Woking Borough Council and a letter from the defendant's wife. The justices, having read the papers, were then asked by the defendant's solicitor to make an order excluding members of the public from the court in the interests of the defendant.

The court had been cleared and the justices had heard the defendant in camera. After returning to consider the matter, the justices then gave sentence in open court.

The defendant had been given six months for the theft and burglary offences, and three months for the criminal damage offences, all to be suspended for two years. No explanation had been offered as to why such leniency had been shown.

There had been an immediate outcry in the press. Nowadays, it was almost inevitable that strong criticism would follow any unusually strong or lenient sentence if it was not explained.

Not surprisingly, the result was the opposite of what the defence had desired. The *Sunday Express* had written up the case. Then the *Daily Mirror* had interviewed the defendant, revealed his true identity, and given details of the offences for which he had received such a lenient sentence at the Central Criminal Court.

The defendant had told the *Daily Mirror* that he had taken to drink and drugs, and had attended psychiatric hospital. An attempt had been made on his life. He had told reporters that the justices had been lenient because of his mental problems.

His Lordship dealt with the jurisdiction of the justices to exclude members of the public. The law was conveniently set out in *Attorney General v Leveller Magazine Ltd* (1979) AC 440 where Lord Diplock, having referred to *Scott v Scott* (1913) AC 417, said: "The application of this principle of open justice has two aspects: as respects proceedings in which the public is admitted and that, in criminal cases at any rate, all proceedings should be conducted in public and communicated publicly. As respects the publication to a wider public of fair and accurate reports of proceedings that have taken place in court the principle requires that the proceedings should be done in a way that would be done in a court of law."

However, since the purpose of the general rule is to serve the ends of justice it may be necessary to depart from it where the nature or circumstances of the particular proceedings are such that the application of the general rule in its entirety would frustrate or render impracticable the administration of justice or would damage some other public interest for whose protection Parliament has made some statutory derogation from the rule.

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In his Lordship's judgment the justices had been inadequately advised. They had not been told only to exercise their discretionary power if proceeding in open court would frustrate the process of justice. Nor had the distinction been drawn between what was strictly necessary, and what was merely convenient or expedient.

Hearing matter in camera was a course of last resort. The justices should have applied their minds to how else they might have dealt with the matter.

As Lord Justice Donaldson (as he then was) had pointed out in *R v Ealing Justices, Ex parte Weaver* (1982) 74 Cr App R 204, 205: "... let me stress that it is a very rare case in which it is one which should be avoided if there is any other way of serving the interests of justice."

However, as Lord Justice Wynn had pointed out in *R v Becken* (1967) 51 Cr App R 180, "hardly a day goes by when the justices are not asked to look at some document which it would be wholly contrary to the interests of the public, or indeed of the public, to quote in open court."

There would have been no difficulty in an experienced advocate drawing the justices' attention to the relevant passages in the written documents in order to justify the court taking the unusual step of hearing the defendant to retain his liberty.

Alternatively, an order could have been made at the beginning of the proceedings under section 1 of the Contempt of Court Act 1981, protecting the identity of the defendant.

The relief claimed had been as follows: (1) An order to quash the decision to sit in camera; Mr Browne had conceded this was futile.

(2) A declaration that the justices had had no jurisdiction; but it was clear that they had so that failed too.

(3) An order that the applicant be shown within 72 hours the clerk's notes of the plea in camera plus any other documents referred to. Mr Browne accepted that the applicant was not entitled to that relief either.

But he had submitted that, whether or not he was entitled to the substantive relief claimed, the applicant was entitled to a declaration that the justices had not applied the strict tests which they should have done when deciding to hear the proceedings in camera.

On the material before the court, the criticism was a fair one. But their Lordships had not seen the documents before the justices, and could therefore only surmise.

They were obliged to accept Mr Haworth's submission that the applicant could not establish that no reasonable bench of justices could have granted the application.

His Lordship had made the criticisms the applicants wanted made, so as to emphasize how exceptional the circumstances had to be for a court to depart from the rule that justice had to be administered in public.

Mr Justice Gidwell agreed. Solicitors: Oswald Hickson Collier & Co; Wootton & Sons; Pelly, Bishop & Stordford.

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A further City freehold has been placed on the market and is expected to be sold early next month. Barclays Bank has asked Richard Ellis to find a buyer for its old Lombard Street building which was originally owned by the former Martins Bank.

Set in one of the City's most prime streets, the 35,000 sq ft building is already attracting a great deal of interest, according to Mr Bill Peach of Ellis. It was rumoured earlier this week that the building had already changed hands, but this is denied by Mr Peach. Apart from its obvious locational attraction, 68 Lombard Street, EC3, has the additional benefit of planning permission to renovate the block and increase the net floor area to 48,000 sq ft.

Ellis is not quoting a sale price. Instead it is following the usual form of inviting offers for the building. Mr Peach stressed that this is not a sale by tender, although clearly the highest bidder with the right sort of financial muscle will emerge as buyer.

Among the interested purchasers are a number of owner-occupiers who regard the Lombard Street address as an important element to their business. This would suggest that a limited collection of foreign banks are keen to acquire the block.

At the moment the market rumour is that prices as high as £17m are being quoted as a possible sale price, although one or two advisers are hedging their bets around the £11m mark. According to Mr Peach, if the building was refurbished and available for letting today it would achieve a rent well in excess of the £32.12 record established last summer by the Kuwaiti bank when it leased 10,000 sq ft at 99, Bishopsgate.

Presumably developers are doing their sums based on a rent of around £35 a sq ft. It is expected to cost at least £5m to undertake the renovation programme on the block, which was built during the early 1930s. The block tends to stand out from other buildings in the street because it is one of the few brick properties; virtually all the others are traditional stone built.

In the past year four or five key City freeholds have come into the market, compared with virtually none in the last decade. There appears to be no underlying reason for the sudden appearance of these rare freeholds apart from a general "weeding out" process by City institutions.

There is a feeling in the City market that a few more freeholds are likely to be offered over the next few months, but they will not be in such prime locations. Sales of these freeholds, usually with an element of refurbishment, have been extremely successful. Last Autumn the Royal Bank of Scotland disposed of its Lombard Street building through Drivers Jonas for £9.5m and earlier this year the bank sold a larger building in Bishopsgate.

The First National Bank of Chicago is selling the freehold of its 1, Royal Exchange block now that it is moving to MEPC's Long Acre development in the heart of Covent Garden. Jones Lang Wootton are handling this sale by tender which should be completed in the next week or so.

Once this spate of freehold sales has been completed we will not see another round of offers for a further 10 years, according to Mr Peach.

Now that the Viking Property/British Rail joint redevelopment of Birmingham's former Snow Hill Station has attracted two key tenants accounting for more than 100,000 sq ft in rents well above £7 a sq ft, the local market has received a fillip. According to Mr Michael Dow, of Jones Lang Wootton, sole letting agents for Snow Hill, the Birmingham office market is poised for greater growth and an uplift in rental levels after many years in the doldrums.

Not far from Snow Hill, Ulster Properties has just completed its 63,000 sq ft Berwick House on the corner of Great Charles Street and Livery Street. Accountants Price Waterhouse are to occupy 7,000 sq ft in the building at a rent of £6.50 a sq ft. Joint letting agents are JLV and Elliott Son & Boyton. Price Waterhouse were advised by Edwards Bigwood & Bewley.

London's SW1 area continues to climb and now stands at 1,906,000 sq ft, according to the latest survey from Debenham Tewson & Chinnock. The floorspace survey shows that total empty office accommodation in the EC, WC, W1 and

## Commercial property/Baron Phillips

## Prime City block on the market



Scottish Mutual is seeking a rent of about £11.75 for its 13,750 sq ft office building in Bracknell, which was completed earlier this week. The high specification building comes complete with full carpeting, air conditioning, double glazing and suspended floors to accommodate computer and power services cabling. Weatherall Green & Smith are sole agents.

Despite gloomy predictions about retail sales there has been intense competition for a freehold shop investment, Petty Curry, in Cambridge, where the United Kingdom Civil Service Benefit Society has paid almost £500,000 for the small unit reflecting a yield of 3.75 per cent. With a total of 1,000 sq ft on ground and three upper floors, the head lease is held by Dixons Photographic at a rent of £19,250 a year. Elliott Son & Boyton acted for the fund and Richard Ellis advised the vendor.

London's SW1 area continues to climb and now stands at 1,906,000 sq ft, according to the latest survey from Debenham Tewson & Chinnock. The floorspace survey shows that total empty office accommodation in the EC, WC, W1 and

SW1 postal districts fell slightly in April by 117,000 sq ft and currently stands at 3,830,000 sq ft.

The agents say the most marked activity was in vacant empty space totals 2,178,000 sq ft in March. They note there has been a take-up of several large buildings and the number of blocks over 50,000 sq ft has fallen from seven to five.

In the City area there is now 4,768,000 sq ft on the market, with the EC2 area accounting for the lion's share at 301,000 sq ft. City Harbour areas there are now 19 office buildings over 50,000 sq ft available for letting.

The Rank Organization's property arm, Rank City Wall, is about to start development of a 3.4 acre industrial site







## General Appointments

## STOCKBROKING OPPORTUNITY

Integrated funds department of a medium-sized firm of international stockbrokers has a client manager, in addition to the responsibilities of administrative personnel, to manage the analysis of UK and overseas equities. The successful applicant is likely to have at least 3 years relevant experience.

**Box No. 0251 in The Times**

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## COOK/HOUSEWORKER

Small, clean, tidy, experienced, honest, reliable, and hardworking person for full-time work in a private home. Salary £4.50 per hour. Tel. 0991 771 111.

## SALES DOCTOR

Small, clean, tidy, experienced, honest, reliable, and hardworking person for full-time work in a private home. Salary £4.50 per hour. Tel. 0991 771 111.

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## MERCHANDISING EXEC

Of high calibre required by leading brand distributor wide range of goods for sale in the home and on the move. Successful applicant would have to be highly motivated, able to develop brand confidence in others, concerned are highly desirable in a ready market and

[illegible]

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